THE

LABOUR MONTHLY

A MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR

Editor: R. PALME DUTT

Volume 16 | May, 1934 | Number 5

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MAY DAY, 1934
R.P.D.

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NOTES OF THE MONTH

May Day, 1934 — "Recovery" Talk — Realities — New Armaments Race—Diplomatic War Preparations—Fascist Offensive—France and Parliamentarism—Daladier's Apologia—The Ulster Parallel—Whither France? National Government's Policy—Incitement to Disaffection Bill—Churchill, Lloyd, Elliott —Liberal-Labour Incantations—The I.L.P. Hesitates—The Perspective.

ON this May Day the strongest call needs to go out throughout the working class and throughout all sections of the population whose interests are not tied up with the tiny ruling group of finance-capital—to awaken to the realities of the present situation, where events are moving, to face the gigantic world fight that is developing, to mobilise the front of active struggle while there is yet time. To what is the situation moving? Where are we moving? Is it to be to the victory of the new forms of ever more brutal capitalist dictatorship? To Fascism? To war, for which the armaments race and preparation of new blocs is already in full swing? To the extension of Fascism in widening sweep, beyond Germany and Austria, to France, Spain, England and the United States, while the masses are confused and paralysed by reformism and democratic illusions? Let us face the issue plainly. This is where the present course of capitalism is developing. The resistance of the workers is rising; Austria and France bear witness. But finance-capital, driven ever more desperately by the crisis, moves with increasing speed to its objectives in every country, at an accelerating pace with every month that passes. There is no time to lose. The united front of the workers develops, but all too slowly for the pace of events. We need to awaken and draw to the struggle millions yet untouched throughout the organised workers, through the unorganised workers, through all the strata of the petit-bourgeoisie whom Fascism seeks to delude. The myth of the inevitable advance and strength and victory of

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Fascism must be broken. The reality of the inevitable struggle, breaking through all reformist-legalist constitutional pretences, must be driven home to the consciousness of all. Only the mass anti-Fascist front, only the active struggle of the working class, only revolutionary leadership breaking through the miasma of reformist delusions and sabotage, can change the course of events, can drive back the ferocious offensive of capitalism, and begin the advance to the Socialist solution of the crisis. This is the line towards which May Day, 1934, must be directed as a conscious mobilisation of all forces for the struggle.

DESPITE all the talk of "recovery" in every country, the rulers of finance-capital know well that there is no question of recovery in the old or normal sense, but that on the contrary, the crisis is advancing to new and intenser antagonisms. "The upward movement in business activity," reports the *Economist* in its Trade Supplement on March 24th, "has been temporarily arrested"; there is "evidence from various quarters of a halt in the upward trend." The same journal in its issue of April 7th, finds, further, a curious feature in the alleged process of recovery :

> Recovery is now, by common consent, on the way; but it is by no means the kind of economic recovery with which the world was formerly familiar. In the first place, it is still a national affair, while world trade is at its lowest, thanks to the drawing of the strangling cords tighter still about international trade. Secondly, recovery has been so far confined in the main to the prices of goods produced either for or by industries which are themselves supplying home markets.

In other words, the widely boomed "recovery" is not based on any upward movement of trade, the normal meaning of recovery. On the contrary, it is based on the process of so-called "economic nationalism," that is, on the intensified concentration and organisation of the imperialist blocs for mutual war.

BUT what does this involve? The production of the modern capitalist trusts cannot be absorbed in the "home markets," that is, within the given monopolist area; this is only a phantasy of propaganda. Therefore, the striving is

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necessarily to increase the monopolist area. The intensified internal organisation is only a weapon towards intensified conflict in the world sphere, not only for a larger share in the world market, but for direct increase of the monopolist area, for territory, for colonies, for a new division of the world. Consequently the drive to intensified internal organisation, to "economic nationalism," to Fascism in the home sphere, is accompanied by the drive to aggressive expansion, to increased armaments, to war in the world sphere. But this means in reality the increase, and not the diminution, of the crisis. This is the process which characterises the present period, and this is the process which underlies the present loudly proclaimed "recovery."

"IF the Conference fails," declared the Minister Eden, with regard to the Disarmament Conference, reporting on his European tour to the House of Commons on March 14th, "every country, no doubt, will then have to proceed to review its armaments, we like every one else, and we, perhaps, more immediately and urgently than others." But, in fact, there is no waiting for the "failure"; the British armaments estimates were already announced by the beginning of March with an increase of £5.1 millions. And the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Chamberlain, reinforced the line of direction in his speech at Newcastle on March 22nd with a direct hint of further increases to come:

> If other nations either will not or cannot follow our example and reduce their armaments, the Government would be failing in its duty if it did not proceed to restore the deficiencies which now exist. If, in the future, the Government should declare that in its opinion it is necessary still further to increase our expenditure in defence, I am certain the country will not refuse to grant us the money.

At the same time, German armaments expenditure is increased by one third at a single leap, alongside the tightest stringency and economy in every other direction, to £55,000,000 (while still nominally "disarmed"), in addition to £22,000,000 for Storm Troops, special police, and Labour Corps; Air expendi-

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ture in particular is raised by 170 per cent, revealing, clearly enough, the strategic direction of what Ernst Henri in his *Hitler over Europe* has spoken of as the "New Schlieffen Plan," to compensate the weakness in heavy armaments by intensified development of aerial-chemical warfare. The United States carries its programme of new naval building to the extreme Treaty limit. Japan presents its demand for naval equality, to end the Washington and London ratio; and, at the same time, presses forward its strategic preparations in Manchuria for its further offensive.

ALONGSIDE the new armaments race go forward feverish diplomatic preparations, and the building of new war-blocs, as seen in the Rome Pact of Italy, Austria, and Hungary, the Balkan Pact (excluding Bulgaria), and the German-Polish Pact. "What is really now beginning to take shape," writes the diplomatic correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* (February 23rd, 1934), "is a wholesale re-grouping of the leading European Powers." The French domination of Europe on the basis of Versailles has lost its grip. Germany goes forward with re-arming as if Versailles did not exist—with British connivance, and, indeed, with British supplying of arms forbidden by Versailles. The Belgian Prime Minister, de Broqueville, openly expresses the impossibility of preventing the re-arming of Germany, in view of the support of German re-arming by Britain and Italy. Italy works side by side with France against the "Anschluss" of Austria with Germany, but works with Germany against France for German re-arming and for the revision of Versailles. Poland moves away from France to an understanding with Germany (reported in certain quarters to contain secret clauses for Polish support of German expansion in the Baltic States in return for German support of Polish expansion in the Ukraine), at the same time as France woos the Soviet Union. The Little Entente is thrown into cross-currents of uncertainty. Jugoslavia and Rumania, opposed to the rebuilding of Austria-Hungary under Italian hegemony, begin to look to Germany for support; the advance of the Iron Guards in Rumania reveals the advance of Hitlerite influence against

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the French alliance. Czecho-Slovakia is torn both ways with conflicting interests. France desperately seeks to rally its weakening allies; the French Foreign Minister, Barthou, hastens to Brussels, to Prague, to Warsaw; the approaches to the Soviet Union and widely advertised hopes of co-operation with the League are pressed forward. But strong currents in France, especially on the Right, move to the alternative line of the French-German understanding, which the Hitler Government repeatedly urges. "Do you think there is a single Power in the world," declares Goering to *Le Jour* (March 20th, 1934), "which could resist the will of France and Germany combined?" The French-German understanding means the anti-Soviet front. For this Britain works. Through all the changing forms, through all the complex of imperialist negotiations and antagonisms, although there are a hundred points of conflict and possible explosion throughout Europe, the tireless labour of all the forces of reaction to achieve the combined front against the Soviet Union, goes ceaselessly forward.

PARALLEL to the advance to war goes the advance to intensified dictatorship in each country. While Fascism carries out its orgies in Central Europe, the Fascist forces are gathering and openly arming in France; the question of internal armaments almost obscures from view in public discussion the question of international armaments; there is open talk of a coup from the Right in the near future, to complete the work begun on February 6th. In Spain, while the Right Government carries on its work of suppression, the Fascist forces prepare their coup, after the discrediting of the Republic by the former Liberal-Socialist Coalition, which left untouched all the social issues of the revolution, and destroyed the revolutionary advance of the masses in 1931, when the reaction dared not show its head, and only the "Socialists" saved it. In Britain, the Government carries forward its continuous line from the Unemployment Bill, for the establishment of slave conditions for all but the favoured minority of workers in continuous employment, to the new Incitement to Disaffection Bill, for the

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muzzling of all revolutionary working class agitation and propaganda ; the Government Minister, Elliott, begins to come out openly for Fascism ; the Fascists are given full liberty of agitation and organisation. In the United States the Fascist character of the Roosevelt New Deal is increasingly revealed, notably in the lines of the attempted enforced settlement of the automobile industry dispute, amid the applause of the employers, with full recognition of the company unions and the demand for membership lists (with certainty of victimisation) of the militant unions ; the Cabinet member, Wallace, begins to express openly the Fascist line. It is abundantly clear that a world process is here developing.

OF typical importance at present is the situation in France. Last month we had occasion to deal with the situation in France, revealed by the February Fascist attempt, and the strength of the united working class front in resistance. The working class movement in Britain will do well to keep closest attention on the further development now in process in France, owing to the nearness, not only geographically, but of certain analogous conditions to Britain. The illusion is still widespread in Britain that a " democratic " parliamentary majority is the best safeguard against Fascism, since in that case the guns and all the forces of the State will be on the side of the " democratic constitution " against the Fascists. On this belief the Labour Party still plays ; and many workers who are increasingly sympathetic to the general Communist line still back the Labour Party on this basis, believing a Labour parliamentary majority and a Third Labour Government to be the best protection against Fascism (in reality it would, both by its policy and by the consequent disillusionment of the workers, smooth the way to Fascism). *But this illusion has already been blown skyhigh by the French events,* and their significance has not yet been widely realised in Britain. There, a left-democratic parliamentary majority and Government existed, supported by the Socialist Party as the defence against Fascism. But did the parliamentary majority mean control of the forces of the State,

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or that the forces of the State were turned against Fascism? On the contrary. The Daladier Government found that it had no effective control of either the police or of the army, any more than of the press-machine for manufacturing "public opinion"; and on the first Fascist street attack it found no alternative, despite its overwhelming parliamentary majority, save immediately to resign and hand over power to the Right.

SINCE the analysis of these events in last month's issue, Daladier's own public statement has been made, in a speech to his constituents on April 8th, and fully bears out, alike by its confessions and by its silences, the damning indictment of the parliamentary, democratic illusion. He states that on February 6th,

> . . . the Fascist organisations were mobilised to force an entry into the Chamber, to proclaim the fall of Parliament, and to impose a dictatorship. Authentic documents proving this, direct appeals to insurrection, have been placed in the hands of the Commission of Enquiry.

Why, then, did the Left-democratic Government, with this information in its hands, take no action? Why did these "democrats," so merciless and rigorous against the slightest sign of Communist activity, making arrests and suppression right and left, not arrest a single Fascist leader, nor lay a finger on the Fascist press which was openly calling to insurrection? He has no answer. On the contrary, he is anxious to show that no serious measures of defence were taken.

> It has been established that at no point was any order to fire given by the Government. Not a single machine gun, not a single repeating rifle was in the hands of the Mobile Guards, or of the police.

Why did the Government, chosen by the parliamentary majority, take no steps to maintain itself against Fascism, but instead resign at once, despite its parliamentary majority? He admits that this question is perplexing "republican opinion."

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> Republican opinion is amazed that the Government should have resigned on February 7th, instead of maintaining itself in power, since it had the majority in Parliament.

He has no answer. He fumbles and stumbles over the question. He accuses fellow-ministers of having wanted to give way. He accuses the President of having insisted on his resignation. He hints at legal difficulties in the way of taking any effective measures, of making arrests, of proclaiming martial law ; would the President have signed the decrees, or would parliament have supported him ? As if there would have been a moment's difficulty or hesitation to carry through any steps whatever, if it had been workers, and not Fascists, who had advanced in armed formation to burn down Government buildings, invade the Chamber and proclaim a dictatorship. Finally he ends with the old lame excuse :

> It seemed better to resign than to risk any further spilling of blood.

Thus the swan-song of parliamentary democracy, the régime of blood against the workers, of bloodshed unlimited in imperialist war, but toothless and helpless against Fascism and reaction. On February 6—7, parliamentary democracy in France signed its death-warrant. What defeated the first assault of Fascism in the February days in France was not the Left Cartel, not the combined Socialist and Radical " democrats," not the paper votes, not the parliamentary majority, but only the overwhelming united front and the battles of the workers on the streets on February 9th, called out by the Communist Party, and the general strike of February 12th.

AND now after the miserable confession of Daladier, compare Lenin on the Ulster crisis before the war. In March, 1914, he wrote :

> Carson threatened to rise in rebellion, and organised armed gangs of Black Hundreds for this purpose.
>
> This is an empty threat, of course. The rebellion of a handful of hooligans is out of the question. . . . The whole point is that the landlord Black Hundreds want to *frighten* the Liberals.
>
> And the Liberals are scared ; they bow to the Black Hundreds, make concessions . . .

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> Of course, if the Liberals appealed to the people of England, to the proletariat, Carson's Black Hundred gangs would melt away and disappear . . . But is it conceivable that the Liberal Bourgeoisie will turn to the proletariat for aid against the landlords ?
>
> The Liberals in England, the lackeys of the money-bags, are capable only of cringing before the Carsons. ("The English Liberals and Ireland," reprinted in "Lenin on Britain," p. 56).

Allowing for the necessary changes in the social forces concerned, have we not here the very picture of Daladier, the hero of the Socialists and the Left Bloc (corresponding roughly in line to a Labour Government here), running away at the first sign of a street disturbance from the reaction, and cringing before Fascism and the Right ? In April, 1914, Lenin wrote further :

> The significance of this revolt of the landlords against the "all-powerful" (as the Liberal blockheads, especially the Liberal scholars, think and have said a million times) English Parliament is extraordinarily great. March 21, 1914, will mark a world-historical turning point, when the noble landlords of England, smashing the English Constitution and English law to atoms, gave an excellent lesson in class struggle.
>
> These aristocrats behaved like revolutionaries *from the Right,* and by that tore up all conventions, tore down all the veils that prevented the people from seeing the unpleasant, but undoubtedly real, class struggle . . . Real class rule has always been and still lies *outside* of Parliament . . . And the *petit-bourgeois* Liberals of England, and their speeches about reforms, and about the power of Parliament, with which they lull the workers, proved to be, in fact, frauds, straw men put up in order to fool the people who were quickly *torn down* by the aristocracy with *power* in their hands. (*The Constitutional Crisis in England,* ibid. p. 58).

This process has been illustrated once anew by Daladier and his parliamentary majority, who proved in truth to be "*straw men*" at the first threat of violence from the Right. Must the example be repeated yet again with a Third Labour Government ? Let the workers learn the lesson in time, to beware to put their faith in the "*straw men,*" in the Labour Party parliamentary democrats, and realise that only their class fight, led by the revolutionary class-fighters, led by the Communists, can defeat Fascism.

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TO-DAY the situation in France is sharp and threatening. The Fascists and the Right are openly making their armed preparations under cover of the interim Doumergue Government. "We are drifting towards civil war" is the declaration of the Left Deputy, Bergery, advocate of the "Common Front" against Fascism, before the Commision of Enquiry. The reactionary "Croix de Feu" ("Fiery Cross"), under the leadership of Colonel de la Roque, founded in 1927, which took the leading part on February 6, previously numbered only a handful of thousands, and is now stated to number 150,000. The Paris correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* reports :

> The Croix de Feu, the Jeunesses Patriotes, the Action Française, and other reactionary organisations have probably not more than 25,000 to 30,000 "fighting members" in Paris. Nevertheless, if this force were armed, it would be sufficiently impressive, though even then it could do little if it had the police and the army against it. But there is just a danger that at the critical moment both the police and the army might be on their side, or, at any rate, neutral. (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, March 23, 1924).

Real del Sarte, head of the Action Française forces, questioned by the Commission of Enquiry, replies that his organisation is not armed, but that his members are "individually" equipped with revolvers and bludgeons. *Humanité* has published hosts of evidence of the stocking of arms, munitions, grenades, etc., by the Fascists and reactionary forces, and close contact and arrangements with Army officers. This is the situation in France to-day to which the international working class movement needs to be sharply alert, and against which the strength of the united working class front is being built up.

WHAT of the situation in Britain? The National Government has followed up the offensive of the Unemployment Bill with the new Incitement to Disaffection Bill. Together, these two constitute the preparation for the new type of State machinery to chain the working class. The Unemployment Bill brings the main body of the working class, all except the privileged minority in permanent employment,

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within the range of the slave-camp system and autocratic control by non-elected centralised Boards, not responsible to parliament. The new Sedition Bill strikes a blow at all working class agitation and propaganda. Ostensibly, the Bill is only directed at propaganda among the armed forces of the State, thus revealing the fear of the authorities at the growing enlightenment and working class sentiment among the soldiers and sailors. But in reality "the possession of any document of such a nature that the dissemination of copies among members of H.M. Forces would cause such an offence, is also set out as a further offence" (*Times*, April 12, 1934). In other words, any document, which, *if* disseminated among the Forces, would be likely to create disaffection, i.e. *any socialist criticism of the existing capitalist régime,* is already made an offence to possess, even though there is no question of dissemination or even of intention. Thus the Government authorities are arming themselves with a weapon to deal with all revolutionary working class propaganda of any kind; and, so far as the wording goes, there is *no limit* to what they could cover under it.

LET the situation be sharply realised, while there is yet time to develop the campaign against the Bill. It is a question of *all working class literature and socialist propaganda* that is at stake. Under cover of the question of anti-militarist propaganda, the Government is in fact preparing a complete *Anti-Socialist Law*. Any work of Marx or Lenin, any pamphlet, any revolutionary periodical whatever, could be brought under this Bill. Mere possession is an offence. Any one possessing a work of Marx or Lenin could be sentenced to two years under this Bill. Hitler and Goering may well admire their imitators. Unlimited powers of search and confiscation are established. It is obvious there is full preparation here for making all revolutionary propaganda illegal. This Bill should be taken in conjunction with the Pollitt-Mann case now in progress. The *Daily Herald* in presenting this Bill as directed "against Fascism and Communism," is playing its usual part in criminally covering up the real meaning of this direct blow at all working class propa-

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ganda. This question is a question of vital concern to the whole working class movement. It is the biggest challenge raised since the Trade Union Act of 1927, and in fact reaching much further. Every local labour party and every trade union branch needs to take up the issue. The combined campaign against the Unemployment Bill and against the new Sedition Bill is now the centre of the fight in Britain.

AT the same time the forces of the Right, not only the openly Fascist forces, but those within the Conservative camp and within the National Government, gather their offensive. Within the Conservative camp this is most sharply seen in the growing strength of the Diehards, led by Churchill and Lloyd. The issue of India, which has been chosen by them as the fighting ground, contains within itself the issue of the fight against parliamentary democratic institutions and for the intensified exploitation of the slaves of British Imperialism, for the policy of the iron heel. The Conservative Central Office, which still stands for the utilisation of manœuvre alongside repression, is increasingly hard put to it to maintain control over the local associations. Last year at the Birmingham Conference of the Conservative Associations the Diehards won 344 votes against 737 for the official machine. This year, at the meeting of the Central Council in London in March, they won 314 votes against 419 for the official machine, an advance from under one third to over two fifths. Amery calls for an Inner War Cabinet of five, as in wartime. Within the National Government, Elliott more and more openly proclaims the line of Fascist policy. In his recent broadcast on March 27 he spoke of the "New State," of the necessity to "give up a certain amount of liberty," of the necessity of "economic nationalism," "economic self-discipline," "psychological self-discipline," etc. The trend is obvious.

WHAT is the Labour Movement doing to prepare resistance? The Labour Party leaders merge completely into the line of Liberalism. The Liberal-Labour bloc is now in practice a single bloc on all issues. The new Liberal "Manifesto to the Nation" proclaims :

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> Liberalism exists to uphold the principles of Peace, Liberty, and Justice. (*News-Chronicle,* February 15, 1934).

The new official weekly Labour organ, the *Clarion,* taken over by the millionaire Odhams firm (that is, like the *Daily Herald,* directly paid for and run by finance-capital, one of the most damning examples of Social Fascism), proclaims :

> Liberty is in danger. Justice is in danger. Peace is in danger. With the issue of the *Clarion* a new ally moves to the side of Liberty, Peace, and Justice. ("Liberty's New Champion," *Daily Herald,* March 16, 1934).

The Democratic Manifesto, issued in February against Fascism and Communism, is jointly signed by Samuel, Rowntree, Cadbury, Rhondda, Layton, etc., and by Lansbury, Bevin, Bromley, Walkden, Margaret Bondfield, etc., in perfect unity in a long political manifesto. This is once again the fatal path of the Left Bloc as in France, which smooths the way to Fascism.

THE Independent Labour Party, representing the leftward moving workers who have left the Labour Party, still hesitates, as the York Conference has shown. A definite, conscious and militant minority for the advance towards Communism has emerged and fought as a body at the York Conference ; this is a step forward, compared with Derby. But the centrist leadership has fastened its control more successfully and completely than at Derby, and has now shed all concealment of its hostility to Communism. The right wing, openly advocating return to the Labour Party and to the Second International, was by itself impotent and heavily condemned by the overwhelming majority of the Conference, but is in fact tacitly sustained by the centrist leadership which depends upon the right to maintain its hold. A situation now emerges offering great opportunities, but urgent responsibilities, to the left wing. Much time has been lost in the year between Derby and York. It is the more urgent now to press forward the fight. The Conference instructions are such as must and should lead to the separation of the right wing, however much the centrist leadership will undoubtedly manœuvre to prevent this. The true issue can then be finally

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fought out. The experience of the two years since Bradford should have made it overwhelmingly clear to the membership of the I.L.P. that the only alternative to endless vacillation, confusion, disintegration, and the final victory of reformism is the advance to Communism.

SPEAKING before the Conservative Central Council on March 28th, Churchill declared :

> They met as friends who, within two years, would be engaged in a desperate struggle against all the subversive forces in this country, roused up by every form of prejudice. He agreed that they should make a solid front of all the strong forces which could get together, forces of the kind which pulled this country through the War and broke the general strike. Such forces should be led against the Socialist menace, and that was their prime and foremost duty. (*Times,* March 29, 1934).

Through the outer forms of electioneering and parliamentarism the real character of the struggle here intended shows plainly through. As in the War. As in the General Strike. A " desperate struggle." The consciousness of the bourgeoisie is clearly turned towards this approaching struggle to maintain their power, to " break " Socialism and the working class. They are well enough aware how thin is the basis of the talk of " recovery " from the crisis, how gigantic are the issues, social and international, that are preparing. This perspective of approaching large-scale struggle is before them. This perspective dominates all the measures and policy of the National Government. How far is there the same consciousness and clearness in the working class ? The opium dreams of the next election and the Third Labour Government as the solution of all troubles still spread their fumes. Under this cover the capitalist offensive, preparing Fascism stage by stage, preparing war, goes forward. On this May Day we need to sound the call for resistance, to awaken and mobilise all forces for the struggle.

R.P.D.

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THE CONFERENCE OF THE I.L.P. AND AFTER

By ERIC WHALLEY

THE 42nd Annual Conference of the I.L.P. was held at York during the Easter week, against a background of rising mass movement, of gigantic class struggles. The temporary defeats of the German and Austrian workers reveal Social Democracy as objectively a wing of Fascism. This is equally true of the open reformism and betrayal of Leipart, and Severing and of the reformism of the Austrian Social Democrats, glossed over, as it was, by a veneer of revolutionary phrases.

It was against this background of political upheaval that the I.L.P. conference was held, and only in relation to this can it be understood. How does the mass of the I.L.P. rank and file stand in relation to this background ?

The rank and file of the I.L.P. recognises through its own experiences confirmed by the events in Germany, that the path of reformism inevitably leads to working class defeat. By reformism the I.L.P. rank and file understand the naked and open class collaboration, and Parliamentarianism of the T.U.C. and Labour Party, and their German parallels. It is easy to see, therefore, that the Austrian events are of vital importance in completing the political education of the mass of the I.L.P., and it is significant that the Left-Reformist leaders of the I.L.P. have very carefully concealed the true rôle of the Austrian Left-Reformist leadership. At this stage, when the rank and file of the I.L.P. is being held back by Left-Reformist manœuvres, it is important that the lessons of the $2\frac{1}{2}$ International and of Red Vienna be made clear.

With an exposure of Left-Reformism as a temporary resting place for awakening masses to prevent their advance to communism, the last illusion of the rank and file of the I.L.P. will have been shattered, and the way cleared for an advance to Communism.

The first resolution on the I.L.P. conference agenda, "The Struggle Against Fascism," submitted by the National Administrative Council (N.A.C.), revealed their desire to maintain the illusions of their members as to the significance of the Austrian events.

After sending greetings to the Socialists and Communists in Germany and Austria, the resolution expressed its "deep admiration for the

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magnificent courage which the Austrian Socialists showed in resisting the Fascist tyranny." "The Austrian Socialists . . ." No mention here of the disassociation of reformist leaders from the "crimes" which the workers had perpetrated, no mention here of the declaration against action made by the Social Democrats on Monday, February 12, *after the General Strike had begun and Civil War was in progress.*

No mention of the continued retreats of the Social Democratic leaders, of the disarming of the Workers' Defence Corps, and their acquiescence in the mobilisation of the Heimwehr. No mention of any of the harsh facts, but a sunny admiration for the "Austrian Socialists," a sliding over of the difference between the gallant workers of Austria fighting at the barricades against the Fascist Heimwehr and Government forces, and the Social Democratic leaders making their peace with their employers.

The Townhead branch sought to complete the picture by expressing admiration for the German Socialists and Communists, "*and the Socialits, anarchists, and syndicalists in Spain.*" Further, they wished to delete: "and join with the workers of Soviet Russia in the task of constructing the new Socialist society," from the resolution.

The Townhead amendments were overwhelmingly rejected. They stood in relation to the N.A.C. line as the Sandhamites stand in relation to the N.A.C. international line, unable to understand the effect that carefully chosen and vague "Left" phrases have on a Leftward moving rank and file—in particular, some general reference to the Soviet Union and "unity" with it. This is done without any sacrifice of the reformist position *in actual practice.* To be *openly* reformist in the I.L.P. is to lose all influence on the rank and file. The pill, whilst it has the same effects, must be suitably coated.

It was very evident that the fundamental differences of the political line within the I.L.P. could not be fought out on all the various resolutions on the agenda, but only on the International question.

The important sections, in the main, were very careful not to make any contribution that would prejudice their position previous to the International debate. Resolutions could be passed of any shade, but what they were to mean in terms of actual practice was to be dictated by the outcome of the debate on "International" relations. All the vital political differences could of necessity only be determined on that section of the agenda.

There were, nevertheless, a number of debates that were very revealing to the revolutionary of the transition stage in which the I.L.P. finds itself to-day.

In the debate on the war danger there were three main lines. First, Barking, which moved for a referendum on total disarmament "on the

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security of a World Order, based upon an International Force, an International Court of Justice, under the control of an International Parliament . . ."

Second, Hampstead, which in an omnibus resolution said "the focus of the war danger in Europe to-day is the actual and developing re-arming of Hitler-Germany," and called for "the forced prevention of German re-arming."

Third, Wood Green : whilst this resolution had some very naïve suggestions it did see war as the outcome of imperialist antagonisms, and exposed the futility of "expecting the League of Nations, representing capitalist powers, to accomplish disarmament." The Wood Green resolution indicated steps that should be taken in mobilising resistance to war. Among their proposals were : preparation for General Strike action, recognition of the necessity to convert a war of imperialism into a war against the capitalist system. The Wood Green resolution called for support for the anti-war movement. The debate, however, concentrated on the clause in the resolution which called for "the careful planning of the organisation of such work during a period of illegality."

Objection was raised to this clause by reformists and "ultra-Lefts." The latter group is the one that sees the I.L.P. as the "new party," with the new tactic adapted to British conditions, the revolutionary party answering the demands of the special British conditions. These new disciples of revolution objected to advertising the fact that they were preparing for a period of illegality in that we should merely forearm the capitalist class.

How well do our new tacticians reveal their belief in their "new party," and their ignorance of the capitalist state. They solved the problem by a perfect MacDonald formula, "We will *not* prepare for a period of illegality in order *not* to forewarn the capitalist class of the formation of an illegal organisation."

The next important debate was on the Unemployment Insurance Bill.

The resolution submitted by the N.A.C. condemned the Bill as an attack on the already low standards of the workers, for its continuation of the Means Test and Anomalies Act, and for its schemes for the enslavement of the unemployed in concentration camps.

The resolution continued : "The conference hereby pledges the membership to fight unceasingly to have the *measure repealed*."

The N.A.C. made no reference to the Unity Congress decisions, and repeated the old reformist line "fight for the *repeal*" (c.f., The Labour Party and the Trade Union Bill). It was necessary for the London and Southern Counties Division to submit an amendment endorsing the decisions of the Bermondsey Congress of Action, and fighting the Slave Bill on this basis.

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Buchanan in his speech, when moving the resolution on behalf of the N.A.C., concentrated the whole of his attention on the Parliamentary activity of the I.L.P. group, and made no reference to organising mass struggle against the measure.

At the conclusion of a lengthy parliamentary speech a delegate solemnly intoned, Amen !

An attempt to closure the debate was resisted on the ground that no reference had been made by Buchanan to *fighting* the Bill. As the result of this challenge, Aplin was allowed to speak, and to draw attention to the Congress of Action's decisions as the basis for mobilising masses of workers in struggle against the Bill.

The next debate was on International relations.

The N.A.C. had made a recommendation, which was accepted, that they draw up a statement, having regard to the cablegram received from the Comintern, to which amendments could be moved by those branches with resolutions on the agenda on the International question. The N.A.C. statement was as follows :

> The objects of the I.L.P. in this respect are :
>
> 1. To bring about the unification of all genuinely revolutionary sections of the working class in one International.
>
> 2. To secure international common action on immediate issues by all sections of the working class. In furtherance of the first of these objects the I.L.P. will continue :
>
> (*a*) To oppose the formation of a new International ;
>
> (*b*) To associate with the Independant Revolutionary Parties with a view to influencing them to work for the establishment of an inclusive revolutionary International.
>
> At the same time, despite the attitude of the E.C.C.I., which makes affiliation or sympathetic affiliation impossible under the present circumstances the I.L.P. is ready to associate with the Communist International in all efforts which, in the view of the I.L.P., further the revolutionary struggle of the workers.
>
> In furtherance of the second object, the I.L.P. will take every opportunity of approaching the two Internationals and all other sections of the working class to urge united action against Fascism, War, and Capitalist attacks.

To this statement four principal amendments were moved : 1. For immediate sympathetic affiliation to the C.I. (Dumfries, Nottingham, and East Liverpool). 2. For sending a delegation of sympathisers with affiliation to the C.I., to discuss the doubts of members (Poplar). 3. For co-operation with the C.I.—maintenance of the status quo. (Birmingham). 4. For a Fourth International (Clapham).

The Manchester group had submitted no amendment to the N.A.C.'s proposals despite the fact that they had an amendment on the agenda in the first case, calling for re-affiliation to the Second International. They were evidently satisfied that the N.A.C. proposals, behind their

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talk of "unity of genuinely revolutionary parties" were objectively the same as theirs :—*the return to the Second International.*

The debate brought on to the floor of the conference the two political lines of the I.L.P., Reformism and Revolution. Despite the fundamental political character of this debate, McGovern, opening on behalf of the N.A.C., made no reference at all to the political issues involved. In a purely demagogic speech he declared he yielded to no man in his admiration for the Soviet Union, but he was not prepared "To close his eyes and march into the C.I. . . . I am not prepared to take orders from either Arthur Henderson or Joseph Stalin." No explanation was made by McGovern of what is meant by "genuinely revolutionary parties," or whether the unity of the patchwork Left socialist groups and the remnants of the Second International would be regarded as satisfactory "international unity." McGovern's speech was characterised by the one "principle," common to all reformists and Left reformists, opposition to the C.I. with its revolutionary discipline.

The conference was brought down to the harsh realities that confronted the workers when the amendment for sympathetic affiliation was moved. For the first time the economic background and the necessary pre-requisites for successful workers' struggle were analysed. Sympathetic affiliation was clearly demonstrated as the necessary step towards closer revolutionary unity preparatory to the formation of a mass revolutionary party.

The Poplar amendment was very ably moved by Cullen in that it ruthlessly exposed the character of these "continental Left Socialist Parties." Cullen drove home the point that the association of the I.L.P. with these groups *was* the Fourth International in embryo, despite our formal "rejection of the idea of a new International." The essential weakness of their case lay, however, in the fact that they themselves could not make adequate criticism of the N.A.C., because their line of sending a delegation, their opposition to sympathetic affiliation *immediately*, was a concession to the N.A.C. The Fourth International was proposed, and the arguments, mainly a rehash of Patons' equal blame, were stonily received. It was apparent that whilst I.L.P. members are still prepared to think that the C.I. is not quite the gentleman, they are definitely opposed to any condemnation of them as failures equally with Social Democracy. The voting on the various amendments was :

	For	Against
Dumfries	34	126
Poplar	51	98
Birmingham	56	101
Clapham	20	137

The N.A.C. statement was accepted by 102 to 64.

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What are the lessons to be learned from this conference and what are the immediate tasks of revolutionary I.L.P.-ers ?

It was made clear in the overwhelming defeat of the Manchester group that the mass of the I.L.P. recognises the futility of the Second International as an instrument of working class struggle. The very bitter political experiences of the I.L.P. contributed to this understanding. The capitulation of German Social Democracy contributed further experience. The extent of this developing consciousness was demonstrated to some extent in the refusal of the conference, *against the wishes of the N.A.C.,* to endorse the Parliamentary candidature of Sandham, the leader of the Right Wing.

It is now impossible to maintain influence over the I.L.P. by repeating the old social democratic phrases, and we see as a consequence the opponents of Communism criticising the Communists because of their "Right" tendencies. The Communist is "unable to understand British psychology," etc. Feverish efforts are made by Left reformist leaders to cloak their policy in phrases that will appeal to the awakening masses.

It becomes of vital importance that Left reformism should be exposed as the other face of Social Democracy. Austria provides the most compelling historical example, the significance of which must be made clear to the members of the I.L.P.

It is also obvious that the overwhelming rejection of the Fourth International, and the contempt of the mass of members for the Second International, could only be followed by support for the N.A.C. proposals (which in practice means the return to the latter, either via or in alliance with the former), because of confusion as to the real character of the N.A.C. proposals. Previous to the conference there was division in the revolutionary wing of the I.L.P. The R.P.C. partly paralysed by its own internal dissention and confusion, was far from being the force in the party that it had been at Blackpool, Bradford, and Derby. The revolutionaries must be brought to see, however, that if the I.L.P. is not to drift back to reformism, determined and united work must be carried out by the various revolutionary sections. The vote for sympathetic affiliation (34) revealed a nucleus of determined revolutionaries that represents the most vigorous, youthful and politically conscious section of the party. A campaign for greater clarity within the party on the basis of this splendid core of followers cannot but meet with success.

The enemy to be fought is unprincipled Left Reformism ; patient and consistent exposures of Left reformist phrases, and reformist actions must be made, a wealth of historical material can be drawn upon (Two-and-a-half International, Austro-Marxism), which will effect the

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A Correction

A serious printers' error was let pass in the April "Notes of the Month" which the LABOUR MONTHLY *takes this opportunity of correcting. At the foot of page* 205 *R. P. D. was describing a visit of the Russian Journalist, Ilya Ehrenburg, in* 1928 *to Vienna. After admiring the buildings, planning, etc. of the Social Democratic municipality, Ehrenburg turned to his guide, a Social Democrat, and asked him :*

> You have indeed constructed wonderful houses . . . But have you not the feeling that these houses are built on the land of another ? Has not the example of our country taught that the worker must pay with his blood for every foot of ground that he conquers ? We had to destroy much—to destroy in order after victory to construct. *You* have begun, not with the machine gun but with the compass and the rule. With what will you end ?

As printed the sentence beginning with "You," given in italics above, read : "We have begun . . ." thus completely distorting Ehrenburg's meaning, making the Russians pacifist idiots, and ruining this exposure of "constructive" socialism.

The LABOUR MONTHLY *trusts that all readers will make this correction in their own copies and so assist in preventing such a gross political distortion from gaining any further currency.*

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exposure of Left reformism as the last desperate manœuvre of the reformist to hold back the workers from Communism.

The campaign for affiliation must continue.

At the York conference a meeting of delegates decided to send a rank and file delegation to the Comintern, to discuss *directly* the points, political and organisational, on which numbers of I.L.P. members require satisfaction. Five delegates have been elected, one from each of the principle divisions of the party. This affords an excellent opportunity for I.L.P. branches to discuss with their divisional delegate all questions which occupy their minds, and to receive a report thereon.

The York conference revealed beyond all doubt that the members of the I.L.P. have broken with *open* reformism. This awakening mass, disillusioned by Social Democracy, can and must be won for revolution. It requires a hard and vigorous fight, but under the leadership of the affiliation committee the revolutionary clarity and consciousness of the members will grow and will express itself in the demand for closer revolutionary unity, for a mass revolutionary party, based upon an acceptance of Marxism-Leninism.

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TOWARDS THE COUNTER-OFFENSIVE

By JOHN A. MAHON

THE British proletariat is moving forward into a great wave of class activity against the "National" Government and the employers. The Hunger March and the Unity Congress, the first large scale action following from the development of the united front campaign initiated by the Communist Party and supported by the Independent Labour Party and many Labour Party and Trade Union branches, mobilised hundreds of thousands of workers for the fight against the Unemployment Bill. What is more, it pointed the way to a great wages movement, drawing the employed workers into the struggle against the "National" Government both in solidarity with the unemployed, and in the fight against the anti-trade union and wage-cutting character of the Unemployment Bill and for wage increases.

Stimulated by the united front campaign of the C.P. and the I.L.P. and aroused by the example of the successful resistance to demands for wage cuts and speed-up shown by the London Busmen under the leadership of their own rank-and-file movement, great numbers of workers are now demanding wage increases. The very propaganda of the capitalist Press about "prosperity" and the announcement of the Budget surplus has intensified this movement, particularly the demand for the restoration of the wage-cuts made under the slogan of "economy" in 1931 and 1932. The mass pressure for these demands has compelled a number of union executives to approach the employers and the Government.

The movement already embraces more than 2,000,000 organised workers. The situation in the different industries is as follows :

> *Mining.*—In South Wales, on behalf of 170,000 workers, the South Wales Miners' Federation is negotiating for an increase on piece rates of 15 per cent. In Northumberland workers are still demanding an increase as to which unsuccessful negotiations have been going on since December. The Durham trade union lodges, comprising 180,000 miners, are coming forward demanding a return to the wages and conditions operating prior to the infamous Plender award. In Scotland, resolutions covering 90,000 miners are being adopted demanding a 10 per cent. increase the campaign for which is being led by the United Mineworkers of Scotland, which has recently gained notable victories in stopping overtime. 15,000 surface workers have been granted an increase of 5 per cent. Lancashire has been negotiating since November.

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Railwaymen.—All three unions—the N.U.R., A.S.L.E. & F., and the R.C.A.—have approached the companies on behalf of the 650,000 workers for the restoration of the percentage deductions made by the National Wages Board in Award No. 119 and of the Shopmen's Council Minute No. 19. This means an increase of some 2/- per week.

Dockers.—The E.C. of the Transport and General Workers' Union has given notice to terminate the agreement in London, and demands the return to the pre-1932 wages and conditions, involving the return of the 10 per cent. cut.

Woollen Workers.—The unions, headed by the National Union of Textile Workers, decided this month to demand the return of the 1930 and 1931 cuts affecting 100,000 workers.

Bleachers, Dyers and Finishers.—The employers have refused an application for an increase, and the Federation, on behalf of the 85,000 workers, is now discussing new proposals, which will be sent to the various unions for endorsement and then presented to the employers.

Electrical.—In the Contracting Section, 90,000 workers, the E.C. of the Electrical Trades Union is applying for an increase of 2d. per hour. In the Supply Section an increase has just been granted.

Chemical.—The various unions affiliated to the T.U.C. have a joint committee which is demanding the return of the 1931 cuts, meaning an increase of some 3/- for male, and 2/- for female workers, covering 20,000 in all. This covers many of the plants of Imperial Chemical Industries.

Teachers.—All the associations embracing the teachers are demanding the return of the "economy" cuts of 10 per cent., and big militant demonstrations have been held.

Civil Servants (including *Post Office Workers*).—The Civil Service Joint Council, on behalf of all the unions, is demanding the stabilisation of wages on the basis of a cost of living figure of 60 in place of the present 50 points. The agreement, which expired in March, is being continued from week to week while the negotiations go on. The recent Albert Hall demonstration was crowded and very militant.

Municipal Workers.—Some 100 municipalities have restored the cuts, but the movement is growing in others, and particularly in London, against the rationalisation measures.

Metal.—All 47 engineering unions, headed by the A.E.U., are negotiating for the 40-hour week with no wage-cuts. A series of partial conflicts on the wages issue are in progress or pending. The Boilermakers are involved in a fight against new proposals for welders, which mean a cut of 8/- per week. London Toolmakers are applying

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for an increase. But there is a growing movement in the A.E.U. to place on the agenda of the June annual meeting of the National Committee a demand for an all-round increase of 2d. per hour.

Seamen.—The shipowners are asking for a new reduction of £1 per month, but the 240,000 seamen are pressing for a demand for an increase.

Cotton.—The struggle against the extension of the more-loom system and against the innumerable forms of wage-cutting being imposed is not yet breaking into the open, but the discontent in the cotton towns is tremendous, affecting 250,000 workers in all.

This industrial wave represents a great menace to the "National" Government, and it is with this background that the recent increase in the Labour votes in the municipal elections and the parliamentary bye-elections must be estimated. If this wages movement were brought along the line of the Bermondsey Congress resolution into a joint stream with the great movement against the slave Bill, the working class would be in a situation to exercise a terrific pressure upon the capitalists and to beat back the whole plans of the "National" Government for war and slavery.

This rising movement of the proletariat on the issues of wages and unemployment shows the desire of great masses, who are learning from the German and Austrian events, to develop the counter-offensive of the proletariat. It is being increasingly understood in wide ranks of the Labour, Trade Union and Co-operative Movement that the retreat must be stopped, for it leads not only to a lower standard of living, but directly into the war situation and the emergence of a Fascist dictatorship. The desire to go over to the counter-offensive, as shown in these decisions to demand wage increases, is at the same time the desire to go forward against the growing menace of Fascism, to prevent it gathering its forces and maturing its development. The whole situation is charged with explosives and is developing towards great class clashes.

The development in action of the counter-offensive of the British proletariat would be of a great significance in the further advance of the world revolution. The British bourgeoisie remains the pillar of the Kuomintang reaction in China, keeps its grip on the teeming millions of India, gives more than platonic support to the Fascist dictatorship in Germany and Austria, and is straining its whole resources in order to organise the anti-Soviet front of the capitalist Powers and to pass over into an open war situation. There could be no more powerful aid to the heroic workers and peasants of China, fighting for their Soviets against the armies and fleets munitioned and armed and financed by Britain, to the toiling peoples of India, to the ceaseless and undying anti-Fascist struggle of the German and Austrian proletariat, to the

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builders of Socialism in the Soviet Union, than the development of the counter-offensive of the millions of workers in Britain.

The bourgeoisie understands its danger. It is concentrating and preparing its forces to beat down the rising movement of the workers, to split the employed and unemployed, to shackle the trade union movement, to cut off the Communist leadership, in order to be in a position whence it can pass into the war situation without the home front being in flames.

These preparations of the bourgeoisie go forward under the sign of Fascisation, covered by streams of demagogy about "democracy." The Fascisation of the machinery of the ruling class, and the ideological preparation of a mass basis for Fascism, especially among the petty bourgeoisie, is receiving great attention from the bourgeoisie and is going forward at a really terrific speed.

The Fascisation of the British capitalist "democracy" is being pushed forward in the ideological, administrative, judicial and military spheres. All the monthly and quarterly journals, all the clubs are discussing the question of dictatorship. The British Broadcasting Corporation regularly sends out in its "Whither Britain?" series and other talks propaganda of a Fascist character. In industry important changes are beginning, in which the London Passenger Transport Board set the example, of bringing together and fusing the apparatus of the State and of private capital for the more efficient exploitation of the workers. Strengthened by the success of the London Passenger Transport Board a new wave of proposals for "public control" of industry on a similar model is rising in steel, cotton and shipbuilding. The *Times* recently argued in its most important column about the need for a "unified framework" within which all the forces of British Industry could be mobilised for the common good, of the ruling class, of course. The military preparations include the militarisation of the London police, already carried far forward under Trenchard, demands for centralisation of police control, the establishment of the Royal Defence Force, extensive training of middle class and selected elements in flying practice, and the open organisation of Fascist black-shirt gangs with their own officers, transport and barracks.

The arrest of Harry Pollitt and Tom Mann and their committal for trial on a "sedition" charge, and the new Bill proposing powers which mean that anybody in possession of a pamphlet or book or leaflet of a revolutionary content can be fined and imprisoned, are a part of this development of Fascisation, and show that the ruling class, quite correctly, of course, fears the Communists as the only force working to transform the whole working class movement into a revolutionary force preparing for the establishment of a Soviet Britain.

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The new Unemployment Bill is itself a measure of a Fascist character. Its concentration camps, its compulsion to do blacklegging, its anti-trade union character, are all strongly Fascist in flavour.

But it is in the work of the reformist leadership of the Labour, Trade Union and Co-operative Movements that the bourgeoisie mainly relies for the prevention of the development of the workers' counter-offensive. And right well are these gentlemen tackling the job. They never were Socialist, except in a few phrases, and now they are no longer either democratic or even simple trade unionist in their policy. The reformists are tremendously active, they are using all their posts in the Labour, Trade Union and Co-operative Movement for extending their influence in the masses, and the whole content of their work is to hold the workers back from struggle, to split the proletariat, and to prepare the way for Fascism. Let us look concretely at some of the things they are doing.

They set the pace in the anti-Communist propaganda. The columns of *Labour,* the monthly organ of the General Council and the Labour Party Executive, overflow with anti-Communist incitement. Following the line of Citrine's statements at the 1933 Trades Union Congress, they seek to falsify even the German and Austrian experience in order to present the Communists and the Fascists as allies against the Labour movement. The statement of the Glasgow Trades Council "against Fascism" was directed mainly against Communism. This barrage is to clear the way to a fresh series of disruptive acts and expulsions directed against not only the Communists in the unions, but against the union organisations which are finding the way to rank-and-file activity and taking the lead in the fight against the employers, independently and against the reformist centres. The expulsion of Enoch Collins from the British Iron and Steel and Kindred Trades Association, the decision by the N.U.R. Executive not to place the name of Figgins on the ballot paper for Assistant General Secretary because of his support for the Vigilance Movement, the penalisation of the shop stewards at the great Burton factory in Leeds by the officials of the Tailors' Union because they led a factory strike, all are signs of the fact that the reformist bureaucracy here is treading the German road—expel the militants from the trade unions in order to clear the way for surrender to Fascism.

The work of the bureaucracy in preventing the development of action can be clearly seen in the recent events in the South Wales Miners' Federation. On January 20 the delegate conference of the S.W.M.F. took the decision to demand from the owners an increase in wages of 15 per cent. on piece rates and related demands. The reformist leaders have since continuously manœuvred to avoid giving notice to terminate the agreement. After meeting the owners five times the General Secretary, Mr. Oliver Harris, told the delegate conference, on March 24, that

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"We are no nearer achieving our proposals than we were at the first meeting," and then went on to outline the proposals of the bureaucracy—for arbitration. Saying that he did not believe in giving power to one man, as was done with Schiller, he proposed two assessors from the miners, with two from the coalowners, and an independent arbitrator in case they did not agree! With such cynical impudence does the bureaucracy flout the democratic and official decisions of its own organisation. The Vice-President, Mr. Jim Griffiths, replying to the discussion, directed his whole fire against strike action, threw doubt on the ability and readiness of the South Wales miners for action, said it was not a question of giving notice to terminate the agreement but of building the organisation, and then said: "The important thing was to set up an arbitration tribunal before the strike began. There was an alternative form of arbitration to that proposed by the coalowners; this was the National Industrial Board set up by the Labour Government under the 1930 Coalmines Act."

The South Wales bureaucracy has not taken one single step to mobilise the power of the miners to enforce the demand of their delegate conference. It has not even done anything for an effective recruiting campaign. The reformist leaders of the railwaymen have done nothing to back up the approach to the companies for the return of the cuts. During the fight of the Ulster railwaymen they sent out one circular about the strike and six against the activity of the Vigilance Movement. Let the Labour workers in every one of the trade unions which are asking for a wage increase ask their officials what single step has been taken anywhere to mobilise the workers for action! Nothing has been done because the job of the bureaucracy is to prevent workers' action, if they can, and break it off if they cannot.

Not trade union action but *arbitration* and *public control of industry* are the two proposals of the reformist leadership. By arbitration they seek to distract the masses from the preparation of strike action and the strengthening of the trade unions as fighting organisations, and by the talk about public control of industry they seek to sidetrack the will of the masses for the expropriation of the capitalists.

But these two ideas, like their splitting measures, have not only the effect of preventing the mobilisation of working class force, but they also popularise and ease the way for the direct Fascist measures of the bourgeoisie, aimed at bringing together the power of private capital and the State, absorbing the trade unions into the State, and governing them by State decisions.

The great object of the reformist leaders is to sidetrack the growing movement of the workers away from protest, strike, and trade union action, into the channel of municipal and parliamentary support for the

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Labour Party, for a Third Labour Government. If these people succeed, the potential counter-offensive, capable of defeating the Slave Bill and driving back the capitalist offensive, will be converted into a mere parliamentary vote for a Labour Government. The British Labour Movement wil go the German road if they have their way.

It is the activity of the Communists and the militant trade unionists which will decide the further development of the situation. By correct mass work the movement against the Bill and for wage increases can be developed into great mass actions, along the line of the Bermondsey Congress decisions. The desire of the masses to develop the counter-offensive can be carried into the stage of actual development only with the leadership of the Communists and militant trade unionists, transforming the united front into action, exposing and defeating the manœuvres of the reformist leaders, and through rank-and-file movements in the trade unions, enabling the masses to break through the barriers erected by the reformist leaders.

The resolution of the Bermondsey Congress gave the clear line for the further advance of the movement. But there is a dangerous lag in the activity of the organisations which rallied to the March and Congress. There have been many recalled conferences to hear the report, but as yet no town conferences of action, no development of united action between the employed and the unemployed, no wide popularisation of the decisions in the branches and in the factories.

The Bermondsey movement has the opportunity of carrying forward the struggle against the Slave Bill and the fight for wage increases to the stage of mass actions, and particularly of strike action, but this requires an immediate approach to the factories and in the trade unions. Both the "National" Government and the reformist leaders will manœuvre extensively on the restoration of the cuts, using some partial concessions as a means of trying to dissipate the movement for the full demands of the workers and of covering up the passage of the main clauses of the Unemployment Bill.

Revolutionary work in the trade unions and in the united front is the key to a further advance, for without the intensified struggle against the reformist leaders, a struggle against both their general political line and their immediate manœuvres in each industry, the united front cannot advance to action.

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SPEEDING UP ENGINEERING TO-DAY

By ARTHUR EDGAR UPTON

SINCE 1929 there has been a colossal slump in world trade, and among the chief industries to be affected by this collapse is engineering, and especially so in Great Britain. Once the workshop of the world—a position this country no longer enjoys—technically backward in many respects, yet able to maintain a major portion of the international export trade in engineering commodities. Thousands unemployed, thousands migrated from the industry, millions of pounds lost, wage-cuts—such is the picture of the industry in Great Britain to-day. How to maintain their share of capitalist plums has been the concern of the Engineering Employers' Federation. How to obtain a higher standard of living for the workers in the engineering industry is the concern of the working class now engaged in this once "aristocratic" industry, which was fostered and fed on the wealth extracted from Britain's colonial possessions.

The poverty of the present day standard of living of the engineering workers can be gathered from wage figures supplied by the Engineering Employers' Federation. The average time rate for skilled fitters in July, 1914 was 37/9½d. per week of 53½ hours, compared with the time rate in September, 1931 of 58/5½d. per week of 47 hours. Whilst the average earning, i.e., piecework and other systems of payment by result—has increased from 41/10¼ per week in July, 1914 to 67/3½ per week in October 1932. The true significance of these figures can only be estimated if they are placed in relation to the increased cost of living for these periods, and, what is more vital, time rates and earnings in relation to the increased productivity per head per worker.

The increase in wages estimated in pounds, shillings and pence of the skilled time worker over that received in July, 1914 compared with September, 1931 was equivalent to one pound and eight pence whilst the Ministry of Labour states that the cost of living in July, 1931 was 45 per cent. higher than the index figure of 1914. The tremendous increase in the productivity per head of the workers can be estimated from a recent quotation from the speech of the Chairman of the Trade Unions who presented the case on the "40 hours' week" before the Engineering and Allied Employers' National Federation in February, 1934. *"It is within our knowledge that the average output per head of the workers employed in the Engineering Industry increased by not less*

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than 24 per cent. between 1924 and 1929." There is no mention of productivity figures prior to 1924; neither does he mention the increased exploitation which has been so obvious to all who have had the misfortune to be a victim of the terrific increased exploitation in one section of this industry. We shall give some examples of this latter in this article.

There is also another capitalist question which has played a great part in the general lowering of the aggregate standard of living of the workers in this industry, that is the general systematic system of short time working which has become an increasing feature. In the previous paragraphs we find that the average wage figures are based upon the full working week of 53½ in 1914 and 47 in 1931 and 1932. The Engineering Employers in their endeavour to prove that a reduction in working hours from 47 to 40 would not solve the problem of unemployment cynically informs the world in a pamphlet—*Unemployment—Its Realities and Problems,* July, 1933, that in 1928 full time was being worked in all sections of the industry by only 83.4 per cent. of those engaged, and this percentage had actually dropped to 65.5 per cent. in 1933. In 1928 11.3 per cent. were employed on a week of under 47 but over 40, and this percentage had increased to 18.6 per cent. in 1933, whilst in 1928, 5.3 per cent. were working a short time week of 40 hours and under, and this percentage had increased to 15.9 per cent. in 1933.

To what extent the general crisis has influenced the question of unemployment can be seen by figures relating to workers actually insured, the number unemployed and the extent of employment over a number of years. The following figures cover "general engineering" and under this heading it is estimated that 40 per cent. of the engineering workers are engaged :—

Year.	Insured.	Unemployed.	Employed.
1923	666,950	136,532	530,418
1929	586,750	53,002	533,748
1933	528,190	129,742	398,448

If we take the middle column then the figures can be made to reflect a decrease in the number of unemployed of 6,790 over a period of time 1923-1933. But the most important feature in relation to this set of figures taken from *Engineering,* March 16th, 1934, is the decrease in the number of insured workers—138,760, and the decrease in number of employed insured workers—131,970, or put in another way, in 1923 there were approximately 80 per cent. of the insured workers employed; in 1929, the peak year in production, 91 per cent. were employed, whilst in 1933 only 75 per cent. were employed.

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These comparisons are significant enough, and will dispel any idea about the "recovery of foreign trade" a phrase so cleverly used by the Engineering Employers' Federation, by which they so easily induce the Trade Union leaders—not that the effete pundits stationed at the headquarters of the Amalgamated Engineering Union are difficult to persuade—to "look facts in the face" and readily agree to alteration in practice and customs, alteration in workshop conditions, rates of pay and overtime conditions, whilst the only thing that recovers is the bank balance of the employers. When this bank balance recovers to its formal percentage or is even maintained in a period of crisis it is done only at the expense of the standard of living of these workers engaged in the industry.

We have seen the actual reduction in the number employed in the industry. Now let us examine the figures in relation to the Index of Production. During 1924, 1929 and 1932, the number of work people insured, unemployed and employed, coupled with the index of Production figures, was as follows :

Year.	Insured.	Unemployed.	Employed.	Index of Production.
1924	628,360	90,796	537,564	100.0
1929	586,750	53,002	533,748	126.3
1932	551,200	166,199	385,001	*79.5

* Provisional figures.

The Index of Production figures are those published by the National Engineering and Allied Employers' Federation, and they are gathered from 417 federated firms. That they can be taken as an average there is no doubt as they compare unfavourably with those supplied by the London and Cambridge Economic Service whose Index figures are 100, 136.4 and 92.1 for the years 1924, 1929 and 1932 respectively. From these figures we can see the results of the introduction of the various systems of rationalisation into the industry which, in the main, have taken the form of intensification of the rate of exploitation of human labour power, while the introduction of scientific methods of production has been a secondary question with the employing class as a whole.

The war period saw rapid changes, the progress of machine tool production has eliminated a tremendous amount of the old craftsmanship from the workshop and has introduced a new unique system of craftsmanship based upon dexterity and manipulation of machine tools with a psychological temperament suited to the monotony of mass production.

The mass production method has developed side by side with the Industrial Psychology Research Laboratory. Here the cold and calculating scientist moulds his plans for the elimination of all waste

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movements on the part of the operator. Perhaps the most notorious system under this heading is the Bedaux System, and can best be described by Bedaux himself :

> The Bedaux System is characterised by the fact that it is concerned only with the measurement of human labour power and does not concern itself with the individual process or machine. It finds expression in a unit which represents the labour which must be put out by the workers. (Charles Bedaux in the *India Rubber World,* August, 1926).

Or as Virgil M. Palmer—who was superintendent of the Industrial Economy Department, Kodak Park Plant, Eastman Kodak Company, stated in 1927, "*We pay for accomplishments ; what is accomplishment? It is results rather than motions.*"

This in reality has been the keynote of all time and motion studies introduced during the post war years, and is brought under that part of rationalisation process known as Scientific Management.

The motor car industry with its mass production methods lends itself to the theory of rationalisation, with its huge workshops, conveyor or chain system of production coupled with the scientific elimination of waste movements on the part of the employee. In an article which appeared in the *Star* on January 14, 1932, Mr. J. Harrison asserts that "Mr. C. R. F. Englebach, a director of the Austin Motor Company Limited, stated that the number of employees per week per car at his factory fell from 55 in 1922 to 24 in 1923, 20 in 1924, 17 in 1925, 12 in 1926 and 10 in 1927, and that this figure has since been considerably reduced." Austins no doubt have been one of the most successful in the introduction of the methods of rationalisation ; so terrific was the rate of exploitation in 1928 that some 10,000 workers struck work as a protest. But Austins are not isolated in this respect as the following table with regard to certain sections of engineering workers will show :—

Year.	Motors, Cycles and Aircraft.			Output of Cars and Commercial Vehicles.		
	Number Insured.	Number Unemployed	Number Employed.	Cars.	Com. Veh.	Total.
1923	191,830	16,108	175,722	71,396	23,604	95,000
1929	245,410	17,614	227,796	182,347	57,576	239,923
1933	261,720	44,168	217,552	220,775	65, 508	286,283

These figures, published on January 26, 1934, in *Engineering*, show an increase in the number of workers employed in this section of the engineering industry by approximately 23 per cent. in 1933 over those of 1923 whilst the production of cars and commercial vehicles increased by approximately 201 per cent. These figures may also be regarded as

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remarkable for the still more significant comparison in the number of persons employed in 1929 as 227,796, with the total production of 239,923 vehicles compared with 217,552 workers in 1933 with a total production of 286,283 vehicles ; presented in another way there has been a decrease in the number employed by 10,244 and an increase in the total production of vehicles amounting to 45,360. This form of rationalisation is not confined to motor car production and has even been adopted in railway repair shops. As the chairman of the Trade Union deputation to the Engineering Employers' Federation states : "At Crewe a locomotive which used to take six weeks to repair is now repaired in six days. At Vickers (Barrow and Elswick) a set of gun mountings can now be produced in half the pre-war time, and at the Leyland Motors the introduction of a Widia high speed tool steel has speeded up production to such an extent that 80 chassis are now produced a week instead of 50 without increasing the number of men employed."

The effects of such systems of exploitation are devastating both to the mental and physical apparatus of the workers. Crushed into these working hours every nerve is concentrated on to the actual production, —results, nothing but results. On the chain and conveyor gangs workers develop hysteria and become nervous wrecks. Dr. Gerd Fabian (*Social Aspects of Rationalisation*), cynically explains :

> The superiority of chain work from the point of view of output by the action of three factors : an external compulsion which forces the worker to complete the tasks which are constantly and automatically brought in front of him ; *a social compulsion resulting from the fact that the worker feels himself to be a link in a chain and to some extent responsible for his comrades' work* (our emphasis A.E.U.) ; in the third place, the fuller understanding on the part of the worker of the purpose of his activities, since he can follow with his eyes the completion of the product or at least of part of the product.
>
> From the purely technical point of view the following factors are referred to as tending to increase output under this system : (1) A considerable saving in labour as a result of the mechanical transport of objects which does away with internal transport work in the factory. (2) The shortening of the manufacturing process by the abolition of unproductive periods and the gradual training of the workers resulting from the progressive increase in the speed at which the chain moves.

A German author who worked with conveyors in the Ford factories at River Rouge, Mr. Hellmut Hullzsch, insists on the importance of rhythm in this form of work, and he calls chain work "rhythmical work" or work in which the worker "sways to the rhythm of the chain."

It does not require much imagination to visualise the effect on the minds and bodies of the workers engaged on such systems of exploitation and it is by such similar methods coupled with the alternation of piecework payment, overtime, and night shift conditions, that the engineering

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employers have been able to maintain, and in fact, to increase their percentage of world trade in spite of the colossal drop in world production.

There have been various causes for the temporary improvement in the number of employed workers in this industry : production for the home market, replacement and renewals, the development of national tariffs, the artificial advantage rendered to British exports by going off the Gold Standard, and the prospects of more trade with the Soviet Union as the outcome of the Trade Treaty.

In the conclusion of a series of articles in *Engineering,* on March 16, 1934, the writer of them in his summary states :

> If France leaves the Gold Standard, or devaluates, it is tolerably certain that the remaining countries of the "gold bloc" will follow suit. Once this happens the artificial advantage to British exports—and amongst them not the least to engineering exports—from the under-valuation of sterling, will disappear wholly or in part.

This same writer concludes : "The most important essential to recovery is the continuation of the long established orderly relations between labour and management." By such long established orderly relations have the employers foisted upon the working class, wage cut after wage cut, have introduced alterations in long-established workshop conditions, have been successful in cutting piecework rates of pay, and the alteration of the long established workshop practices. The reason for this state of affairs is the Mondist and class collaboration policy rigidly pursued by the trade union executives, especially that of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. Once a force to be reckoned with, now only a shadow of its former self, in so far as membership can be counted in by figures, but the spirit which actuated the hearts and minds of the early pioneers of Trade Unionism remains, as can be seen from the struggle in the post-war period ; Austins, Hoes, Fords and Elliotts are typical examples.

The extent to which this Union has been depleted in numerical strength, can be gauged from the following. In the year 1913, the membership of the Unions which now comprise the Amalgamated Engineering Union was 210,000 ; at the time of the amalgamation of these unions in 1920, the membership stood at approximately 460,000 ; now in March, 1934 the membership is reported at 193,294

The successive executive councils of this Union have consistently pursued a policy of class collaboration as is shown by the records of the central conferences arranged from time to time under the heading of "The Agreement for the Avoidance of Disputes." A review of hundreds of cases presented under this agreement shows the resentment of the workers to many of the proposals of the employers. The main questions argued at such conferences are the alterations of workshop conditions,

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the replacement of skilled by semi-skilled workpeople with its consequent lowering of the standard of life of those engaged, the replacement of unskilled by women and young workers, cuts in piece-work prices owing to "new methods" of production. In short the introduction of methods of rationalisation and the terrific increase in the rate of exploitation of human labour power has been successfully introduced into the engineering industry with practically no organised effort on the part of the unions to fight it. When workers can see with their own eyes such alteration of workshop conditions as they have witnessed during the last ten years with little or no protest from the organised workers, and what is more important that when workers do take upon themselves the right to strike without "procedure" operating they are immediately forced back into work by threats from the bureaucracy of the Union's apparatus. Under such circumstances there is little wonder that the membership has shrunk to its present dimensions.

The present Executive of the Union is unique in so far that it is possibly the most reactionary set of officials who ever sat in the offices of their Union. Their frantic campaign against all and sundry who stand up against their reactionary proposals can be gathered by their desire to assist the employers with an alteration of workshop conditions and reductions in the workers' earnings in 1931. Not even a ballot vote of the members was demanded by this set of officials, neither did they hesitate to expel a number of militant members from the ranks of the Union who refuse to encourage such reactionary proposals. Their attitude towards lesser officials signing their names to manifestos issued by various committees engaged in organised mass resistance is another piece of unprecedented interference with working class rights. They blather about the apathy of the working class yet do all in their power to crush all signs of militancy whenever it is shown, whether it be in the branches, in district committees, or the workshop, or in participating in organised working class activity; the name of the A.E.U. must not be used ! ! Such a reactionary policy has been responsible for the present state of the engineering workers.

The militant section of the rank and file of this Union have also been somewhat retarded by the tactics of these officials, many have become disgusted and dropped out of Union activity, many have been victimised by the employers because of their militancy, though others have done their utmost to rally the members of the Union on to a class platform.

At the present moment the Union is engaged in an election for these full time posts; the contempt in which these officials hold the membership can be seen from the obviously cynical election addresses which the majority of them issue. An examination of the problems facing the members apparently is no particular concern of theirs; in fact, many

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of them do not attempt to utilize the full 1,000 words for their address, and as to addressing branches, that is not one of their strong points. Not to be seen, is not to be heard, is their motto.

The members of this Union are also concerned with the proposals to revise their rules. This question has been brought forward because of many circumstances, among others, pressure from the rank and file, as expressed at the 1933 National Committee meeting. This Union still remains on the old craft basis of 1852. It served its purpose no doubt in its day, but is hopelessly incompetent to cater for the type of worker now engaged in the industry. There is also the question of the ever increasing influx of women into the industry whose wages can only be described as a scandal. The most vital problem is the reorganisation of the union away from the policy of class collaboration towards the policy of class struggle. This cannot be done by meeting in the branch rooms only, it must be done around the every-day issues of the working class. There is not a shop, a factory where the standard of living of the workers has not been affected in some form or another by the introduction of methods of rationalisation. It is around these questions that the militant section will explain inside the workshop the need for the reorganisation of the Union and the necessity to revise the rules of the Union in order that the bureaucracy will not have the rules to assist them to strangle the workers' struggle against any further encroachment of the employing class.

The necessity of a ballot vote and the implication of such a ballot vote on all present "agreements" will have to be taken up, the formation of workshop branches in which the particular grievance of the workers can be discussed must be organised. The greater facilities for rank and file control must be argued out. A struggle will have to wage against any interference by the executive council with the constitution of rank and file democracy as expressed in the Final Appeal Court and the National Committee. The placing of social benefits on a voluntary basis and the organisation of the Union on an industrial basis is another vital problem which the members of the Union have to face. This can be successfully accomplished if the basis of the arguments are firmly established on the economic conditions of the workers, the change in the methods of production and the establishment of a class basis in the campaign for future struggle against the engineering employers in particular and the capitalist class in general.

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RAILWAYS AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM

By R. DARWEN

MUCH ink has flowed in proclaiming in the capitalist press that the end of the crisis has been reached. Railway traffics, supposedly the "barometer of trade" are pointed to as justifying optimism, and Stock market manipulations have pocketed a nice sum as the result of the boost of railway shares. The remarkable rise in the prices of railway stock is shown in the following table :

Stocks.	Par.	Highest 1929.	Lowest 1933.	Present Value.
	Million £	Million £	Million £	Million £
Debenture	315.5	242.2	269.7	315.9
Guaranteed	145.2	124.2	106.0	152.2
Preference	365.2	281.5	127.3	282.8
Equity	275.5	150.0	40.2	98.2
All Classes Total	£1,101.4	£797.9	£543.2	£850.1

The total market capitalisation of stock has increased from the low level of 1933 by 57 per cent. and is actually above the highest point of 1929. Is this boosting of railway recovery justified by fact ?

Railway Receipts.

The movement of traffic has not to much extent increased, for the 1932 and 1933 figures show an almost stationary position.

	Passenger Trains.	Goods Trains.	Total Railway Receipts.	Total Gross Receipts.
	Thousand £	Thousand £	Thousand £	Thousand £
1932.	£65,067	£78,900	£145,342	£164,966
1933.	£65,397	£78,529	£145,291	£165,102

It must be borne in mind that the weather in the summer of 1933 was exceptionally good, and the increase in passengers carried must be to some extent attributed to this. The many concessions made to the public reflected the efforts made by the companies to entrench themselves for

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their losses caused by the continued bad position of the basic industries. This is shewn in the freight traffic returns, which until July showed a decline on the receipts for the corresponding period for 1932. From July onward the figures improved and cancelled out the bad returns of the first half of the year. The year's returns for freight traffic show very little improvement.

	Tonnage Carried.	Receipts.	Average Receipts, per ton.	Freight Trains, miles.
			s. d.	
1932.	306,438,000	£77,525,000	5 1.27	107,454,000
1933.	307,574,000	£77,299,000	5 0.41	107,253,000

The reduction in the average receipt per ton shows that the existence of road competition is still a factor, and that the companies have made further concessions in order to attract traffic. The following quotation from Sir Josiah Stamp in his chairman's address to the L.M.S. shareholders reveals this famous bourgeois economist facing up to the realities of the crisis :

> If the coal-mining industry is finding a new equilibrium on a *lower* total consumption ; if the shipbuilding industry is to follow that trend of *reduced* international trade which must result from the self-sufficiency of national units, if the home markets available to us no longer have continuously increasing populations ; if the great cotton industry has now to meet full grown rivals in India, China and Japan, and can nevermore assert its world supremacy ; *then certain vital areas of industrial Britain must suffer prolonged depression* which no amount of activity in the luxury and distributive trades in the south can possibly out-weigh. (my emphasis R.D.)

Railways and Road Transport.

The gross receipts from the ancillary business of the companies, road transport, steamers, docks, and hotels, is again an interesting reflection of the shrinkage in trade ; particularly in the returns from the docks, steamers and hotels. The totals for all companies are as follows :

	Road Transport.	Steamers.	Docks.
1932.	£475,000	£3,392,000	£6,387,000
1933.	£538,000	£3,347,000	£6,296,000

The only increase is from road transport and the companies are obtaining the handsome return of nearly seven per cent. in their road

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transport investments. Incidentally, the extent to which rail capital is gaining a controlling interest in road concerns, is shown by the purchase of Hays Wharf Cartage Co. and Carter Patersons, two large transport concerns. The price paid by the companies was £2,180,000 References made by the various railway company chairmen to the Road and Rail Traffic Act, which becomes operative on July 1, 1934, express disappointment that the measure does not come up to their expectations.

With the growing expansion of rail capital in road interests, the question arises as to what is the Government policy ? Is it the policy of rail monopoly and does the railway interest press the Government, which is the tool of monopoly capital, to keep the competitive road interests just where they want them ? For it must be borne in mind that it is in the interest of rail capital to maintain a fiction of road competition as a serious threat to rail monopoly, a serious alternative. It is valuable for the struggle against the workers and with industrial capital in general. The lesser capitalist interests are horrified by the grip of rail monopoly —the propaganda that there is a powerful and vigorous road competition allays their fears and reduces their opposition to further steps, pooling, etc., in the direction of complete inclusive monopoly, squeezing all industry.

At the same time it ties the railwaymen to the companies ; " Work hard, canvass, for traffic, for we defend your livelihood against road transport."

To sum up, much of the capitalist optimism is based upon the improvement in the latter half of last year, and the increases shown this year. This is largely due to the increased traffic from the industries primarily affected by war tendencies. It is known by observant railwaymen that there has been a large increase in the movement in various parts of the country of war material. The increase in the carrying of scrap-iron, for instance, is significant.

Net Revenue and Dividends.

Net revenue does not come up to a level satisfactory to the rail capitalists. The returns for the four main companies for 1933 provide for net revenue of £29,600,000, compared with £27,194,000 for 1932. The average rate of interest and dividend paid per cent. of capital receipts is 2.76, against 2.59. It must be added that there is approximately £315,000,000 on which no dividend has been paid. How then have the companies paid their dividends in spite of having, during 1933, touched the lowest depths of capitalist depression ? By greater exploitation of the railway workers, rationalisation, economies, speeding up, and a general worsening of conditions. In continuing this capitalist way out we find the companies now putting forward their Fascist proposals for new negotiating machinery, embodying compulsory arbitration.

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Expenditure and Rationalisation.

While figures may, to some extent, give an idea of the huge savings made by the companies in "working expenses," they do not and cannot give a true picture of how intensified rationalisation and the drive for economies has affected railwaymen.

Here is a table of reduction in expenditure (all services) :

Each Year compared previous year.	L.M.S.	L.N.E.R.	G.W.R.	S.R.	Four Companies.
	Total Reduction.	Total Reduction.	Total Reduction.	Total Reduction.	Total.
	Thousand £	Thousand £	Thousand £	Thousand £	Thousand £
1930	£1,765	£1,689	£687	£213	£4,354
1931	£5,070	£4,217	£2,005	£940	£12,232
1932	£2,680	£3,010	£1,623	£1,412	£8,725
1933	£1,134	£483	£460	£257	£2,334

The economies in 1931-32 were very great. They could not be continued to the same extent in 1933, in part because the scope has contracted, but also because of the rising temper of the men. With the depression at its deepest the companies cut down expenses in all departments. An improvement in traffic means that they are faced with the need for making provision for it. Permanent way renewals, heavy repairs to rolling stock, new locomotives have been curtailed to the minimum demanded by necessity. Now expenditure must be made in these departments. The L.N.E.R. report states quite plainly "that during the current year the revenue will have to bear increased costs for the maintenance of permanent way and rolling stock." It is also to be noted that the companies issued a programme of replacements last December estimated to cost £8,000,000.

This is what Sir J. Stamp has to say on economies :

> While I do not say that we have reached the end of economies of a permanent nature, there is a limit to the savings that can be achieved in this direction. The fact of having reduced expenditure from £70,000,000 to £55,000,000 in six years necessarily contracts the field for economy, particularly as circumstances outside our control govern the rates of wages and prices of materials, which constitute 90 per cent. of our expenditure.

Here is a lament that the companies cannot control wages, and an admission that there is still scope for further economies of a "permanent nature." This can only mean rationalisation by means of a further extension of the pooling schemes of which there is still an immense possibility. Although complete amalgamation of the four companies is tactfully kept in the background, by means of pooling schemes and "working arrangements" competition has been almost eliminated.

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The Effect upon the Workers.

What have these economies meant to the men, and in what way do they take effect? A great reduction of staff has taken place; on the L.M.S. alone the staff has been reduced by 20 per cent. in ten years, while it is estimated that 36,000 men were dismissed from the railways last year. This shrinkage of staff places more responsibility, and calls for greater efforts and speeding-up on those working the railways. In the goods sheds the unloading and loading up of wagons has to be done more quickly and by fewer men. Mobile motor cranes move alongside the wagons in the goods yards, and thereby save shunting operations. Pressure is brought to bear on shunters to get trains shunted quickly, and in the formation of trains every effort is demanded to get trains out to time.

Accidents, fatal and otherwise, are on the increase, and with any improvement in traffic greater risks are taken by the men to get the work done. The companies have recently issued booklets "Prevention of Accidents to Staff." The books are fully illustrated as to how accidents occur, and give the impression that the companies are really concerned to protect the men. Actually, many risks are taken and rules unavoidably disregarded, in order to avoid reprimands. So long as everything goes well nothing is said, but as soon as a mishap occurs someone has broken a rule.

Shunters are classed in various grades and paid accordingly, and thousands have been reduced in grade and suffered loss of wages. This also applies to other grades, guards, porters, firemen, checkers, etc.

With the advance of electric and other mechanical devices, many signal boxes have been closed down, and in some cases, one box will suffice where previously three exisited. During the night only the important station, junction, and goods yard boxes are open. This has meant a big reduction in number and in grade for signalmen.

In the locomotive department larger locomotives and increased loading of trains have reduced staff, and the cleaning of engines is at a minimum. Cleaners are now, in most cases, "spare firemen," *i.e.*, they can be utilised as required for firemen, and the companies "carry" these men solely for that purpose. Many of them have ten up to twenty years' service, and are between thirty and forty years' of age, upon work which was once regarded as that of youths. De-grading from a driver to a fireman many mean a loss on the basic rates of 18s. per week, from a fireman to a cleaner, 12s. per week. At some depôts men who have been passed for drivers have been put back as far as cleaners, "spare-firemen."

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"Shop men," who work in the erecting shops, running sheds, and repair depôts, have for the past four years worked five days per week, and in some areas, such as Darlington, Crewe, Stratford, and Gorton, they have suffered prolonged unemployment.

Amongst the junior men in nearly all grades, by the operation of the seniority rule, transference from one depôt to another has been rampant. Men will be moved as redundant to a place five or six miles away (sometimes much further), and will have to travel back and forward. This means, with working and travelling time, anything up to twelve hours a day. In not a few cases they have transferred their homes only to find themselves once again "redundant," and moved again.

Redundancy is the "sword of Damocles" for the junior men in all grades, and the companies have been able, without reference to the Wages Boards, to obtain very large wage reductions for many thousands of men, and have everywhere produced almost intolerable conditions.

How is it that this has been possible on so wide a scale without resistance from the men? Are not railwaymen the best organised section of the British working class to-day? It has only been possible because of the screening effect of the negotiating machinery of the Local Departmental Committees and Sectional Councils, which have prevented the operation of trade union organisation as an effective defence of the men, in the piecemeal process of rationalisation.

It is no wonder that in giving notice to terminate the Wages Board machinery, the companies did not give notice to terminate the provisions of Section 65 of the Railways Act of 1921, which has served them so well.

When to this general degradation of conditions is added the deductions from the basic rates of pay, the reduction in night duty and Sunday pay, and of the overtime rate, the growing discontent of the railwaymen will be understood.

Thousands of railwaymen are living below the poverty line; 27,245 are on rates between 38s. to 42s., and about 174,000 on rates between 42s. and 55s. per week. Owing to pressure from the branches the Executice Council of the N.U.R. has applied to the companies for a meeting to discuss the restoration of the cuts. No machinery exists to deal with this application. Will it be dealt with by direct negotiation or will this demand be used as an excuse to "put over" a form of negotiating machinery that will continue to serve the companies? First, by retaining the screen, *i.e.*, the lower organs—Local Departmental Committees and Sectional Councils, second, by compulsory arbitration.

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New Negotiating Machinery.

This is exactly what the companies propose—there are five stages in their proposals for new negotiating machinery :

1. Local Departmental Committees ;
2. Sectional Councils ;
3. Unions and Railways Staff Conference ;
4. Railways Staff National Council ;
5. National Railway Tribunal.

Parts 1, 2, and 3 are the lower machinery which exist at present, to which the companies propose variations with a view to " the maintenance and development of the companies' business," and " measures to secure and retain traffic." Part 4 is a replica of the Central Wages Board, a board with eight representatives of the railway companies and eight of the trade unions, whose function and duty shall be " to consider questions as to standard rates of salaries, wages, hours of duty, and other standard conditions of service." Such questions shall not be carried beyond the Railway Staff National Council, unless involving " interpretation " of a National agreement, or unless agreed by that Council " to be of major importance to the company or companies or union or unions." Then the companies' proposal involves the reference of particular questions of interpretation to an independent chairman, whose decision shall be binding. Lastly comes the Railway Staff National Tribunal composed of three members, one nominated by the companies, one by the unions, and one by agreement. No director or official of the companies, and no official or member of the unions shall be eligible. The most important paragraph as to the function and duty of this body are :

1. To hear and decide questions agreed by the Railway Staff National Council to be of major importance concerning salaries, wages, etc ;
2. Hearing shall be private to the parties ;
3. " Decisions of the Tribunal, whether unanimous or by a majority, shall be binding upon the parties to any agreed reference."

The Trade Union Leaders and Fascism.

The Fascist co-operation in embryo shows itself in the collaboration of " workers' representatives with the employers for the good of the industry " ; in the increasing part to be played by the Local Departmental Committees and Sectional Councils ; in the chopping down of the independent life, power, and influence of the trade union branch ; also in the aim to make impossible any independent rank and file action, and the crowning of the lower machinery by a compulsory arbitration

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Tribunal. What is the attitude of the trade union leaders? Do they denounce these elements of Fascism, which have been growing for years? No! They have assisted these things and uphold them:

(*a*) The subservient and barren Local Departmental Committees and Sectional Councils;

(*b*) The limitation of freedom for the rank and file in the branches.

They accept in principle the whole of the lower organs of the new machinery in their reply to the companies' proposals.

The negotiating machinery provides semi-state jobs for bureaucrats and opportunities to become ingratiated with the management. It is the fear of the rubber truncheon across their backs—the fear of the loss of jobs. This alone underlies their denunciation of Fascism.

Amongst organised workers in this country to-day railwaymen stand comparatively the strongest. If the companies succeed in forcing their new proposals upon us, then the encouragement to the capitalist class in the country to go ahead with the "fascisation" of industry, would be immense.

The Workers' Defence.

The defence against the growth of Fascism, and against a new drive into our conditions, is rank and file activity in the branches against the worsening of conditions at every depôt. Support must be given to official resistance to compulsory arbitration, and to the demand for the restoration of the wage deductions, with the additional demand that no agreement shall be signed unless first submitted to the branches. The fight must be ruthlessly pursued against the suppression of rank and file organisation and activity, and the true rôle of the leaders exposed.

The programme of the All-Grades Railway Vigilance Movement offers the rank and file the alternative to the companies' proposals; the abolition of the whole of the present negotiating machinery and the establishment of all-inclusive Depôt Committees with direct contact with the Trade Union Branches; the restoration of the wage deductions, and a nation-wide campaign for a 36-hour week, without reduction in basic rates of pay.

Here then is the way forward against class-collaboration with railway capital monopoly. This octupus cannot be and is not satisfied with the present position of the railways. Beneath capitalist optimism, as displayed on the Stock market, there will continue the relentless drive for more rationalisation, more "economies," and still worse conditions for railwaymen.

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TERROR IN CYPRUS

By EVDOROS JOANNIDES

THE developments of events in the Near East during the last few years have accentuated the imperialist rivalries, and compelled a corresponding change in the attitude of British Imperialism, whose interests, economic and strategic in this part of the earth, are paramount.

The rapid change of the Island of Cyprus into a naval, military and air base, determined by the increasing uncertainty of the imperialist position in Iraq, Persia, Arabia and even Palestine and Egypt, is the expression of the concentrated efforts of British Finance Capital to maintain its rule and supremacy.

The decisive factors of the change are two :

1. The internal situation of the colonial countries taken separately and collectively.
2. The external position.

The colonial workers and peasants under the double yoke of foreign and local exploitation and oppression are reduced to extreme impoverishment. This, dialectically opposes the imperialist aim of the striving for the consolidation of its hegemony. The rapid awakening of the colonial masses proved in many cases to have upset the imperialist plans and rendered difficult the building of the Anti-Soviet bloc. British policy is especially governed by the paramount consideration of maintaining a firm hold over the Colonies of the Near East, which along with India represent the main bulwark of the Empire. It cannot tolerate any opposition which would weaken its grip. Revolts in Egypt, Palestine and Cyprus have been brutally suppressed, but in spite of that, the Imperialist position is becoming increasingly difficult. Attempts to gain liberation from the clutches of Finance Capital have been made in Persia. Iraq was granted a shadowy freedom and given chained independence. On the other hand Britain views with alarm the steady penetration of another imperialist cancer in the markets of the Near East—Italian Fascism which cherishes hopes of economic renaissance in the Near East. Fear of the spread of revolutionary " contagion " amongst the colonial masses and fear of the barking Italian Fascist dog, have decided for the transformation of Cyprus into another Malta. From there British Imperialism will face a very complicated situation.

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The Strategic Importance of the Island.

At the time of the occupation, in 1878, Cyprus as a strategic point was of prime importance for Britain. The Suez Canal, the key to India and the Far East, was in the hands of a semi-hostile capitalist group—the French. Egypt belonged to the Ottoman Empire, Thus England's naval supremacy was challenged in the very dawn of the imperialist era. By threats and intrigues the Whitehall occupants succeeded in persuading the Sultan, who was at the time menaced by Tsarist Russia, to cede Cyprus to England. In exchange, England was to undertake the guarantee of the Turkish frontiers and to prevent the expansion of the nascent Bulgarian Kingdom at the expense of the Ottoman Empire. British diplomacy succeeded with one stroke in securing the alliance of an Empire, and the possession of an Island, the military development of which would frustrate the French plans. In the following year, the Beaconsfield Government bought a decisive share of the Suez Canal, and thus the focus of conflicting imperialist interests was transferred to another place. Cyprus' strategic rôle began to diminish. The importance of Egypt and the canal were increasing.

The changing of the rulers was followed by heavier taxation. The Cypriots were forced to pay an extra sum of £90,000 annually as levy to the Sultan. The sum was reduced to £50,000 in 1906 and continued to be raised after 1914 when Cyprus was annexed by Britain, until 1928. This money never found its way to the treasury of the Sultan. It was kept in the British Treasury; this amount of £3,080,000 was disposed of in 1931 by the Socialist (! !) Chancellor of the Exchequer, Snowden, for the payment of the shareholders of the Crimean loan. Cyprus was twice offered to Greece. Once in 1915 with the provision that Greece, who was neutral, would come out in the war on the side of the Allies, and again in 1919, in exchange for the loot which the Allied Imperialists thought they would obtain from Soviet Russia if Greece would serve by participating in the war of intervention.

Now, after the signing of the Balkan Pact under the ægis of French Imperialism, and the rising fury of Italian Fascism, whose interests in the Near East are threatened and whose bellicose utterings quickly found a sharp answer in the military and naval manœuvres of Turkey, the situation in South Eastern Europe is tense. The pretences of imperialism and the illusions of pacifism and social democracy can no longer be maintained. It can no longer be hidden from the toiling masses that the increasing decay and crisis of the capitalist system and the sharpening imperialist antagonisms will eventually find an outlet in war. It is for this predatory war that the Imperialists of all lands are feverishly preparing. A war for colonial possession, for the re-distribution of the

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world, for an increased share of colonial plunder, for the suppression of the proletarian movement.

British Imperialism slaughters, tortures and imprisons hundreds of thousands of proletarian revolutionaries in the Colonies, in order to crush any potential opposition or resistance from the rear in the next war. It is precisely from fear of this resistance of the colonial slaves, and to assure their destruction, that Cyprus is rapidly being turned into a military camp. The harbour of Famagusta is being opened and extended to become a naval base. A port for sea-planes is being built near Limassol. A few miles out of Nicosia an airport is being prepared. Military barracks have been built in Nicosia and Limassol.

The Internal Situation.

Fifty-six years of Imperialist domination have reduced the workers and peasants of Cyprus to abject poverty and slavery. More than two-sevenths of the entire cultivated land belongs to the Church and the Monasteries. More than three-fourteenths are expropriated or mortgaged and only seven-fourteenths are owned by the peasants.

Cyprus is predominantly a peasant land. 75 per cent. of the entire population are peasants—small owners or renters (i.e., peasants who rent land from the big kulak farmers or from the Church and cultivate it). The Church, the biggest feudal landlord, along with a dark phalanx of usurers and money-lenders, have crushed and ruined the peasants.

Usury is rampant. The Government is delighted to keep it in protective obscurity. Not a single villager in need can borrow money without mortgaging his property. Interest is very high. The Government has fixed it as high as 12 per cent., but instances of 16 per cent. and 20 per cent. are not rare. As a result of this legalised bloodsucking a gradual process of expropriation has been going on for years. Whole territories in the district of Paphos, entire villages in the districts of Larnaca and Famagusta, belong to a relatively insignificant number of wealthy individuals. Cyprus is reverting, from the point of view of land-ownership, to Feudalism !

Taxation is hitting hard the lower-classes, while the upper-classes are left almost immune. The sufferings of the people are terrible. Wages are very low—1/- to 1/6 for men daily and 6d. to 10d. for women. Poverty is extreme. Two years of continuous drought, in a place where agriculture relies on rain, has markedly accentuated the gloomy picture of Cyprus' economic ruin. The scanty reports published every now and then in the British bourgeois press, though brief and incomplete, are sufficient to paint faintly the appalling sufferings of the workers and peasants.

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It will be of use to give an analysis of the Governmental budget in order to show the way in which Cyprus is governed and how taxation operates :—

In the year 1932, the Budget was £743,076, out of this the following expenditure were made :—

85 Officials (87 of them British)	£68,000
Pension (for retired officials and government employees)	£45,000
Police	£93,000
Imperial Defence	£10,000
Education (teachers' salaries)	£121,000

Over £400,000 are used annually for the administrative apparatus. Only £11,743 is expended on public works, mainly road repairs, and £738 on "trade development."

Nothing for relief, unemployment benefit, productive work, help for the peasants, etc.

The money is raised :—

Land Tax	£77,000
Tax on sheep, goats, pigs	£23,050

Direct taxes on land, sheep, goats, pigs, salt, tobacco, licences, stamps, yield about £300,000 annually.

Import duties on flour, clothes, beans, oil, wood, fish, leather, bricks, tiles, shoes, cereals, petrol, yield £305,000 annually.

This analysis demonstrates glaringly how ruthlessly the toiling masses are ground down by taxation. There is no income tax. Capital is immune. The workers and peasants are forced to pay for the maintenance of a veritable army of well-paid governmental parasites.

The 1933 trade returns show a decrease in exports of £350,000 from the average of the previous ten years. Imports show a slight decrease in merchandise of primary importance such as flour, beans, coffee, clothing and textiles.

Terror is Raging.

The unbearable conditions, heavy taxation and brutal repression led to a violent outburst of popular indignation against the régime of foreign and local exploiters in October, 1931. The insurrection was brutally suppressed. The military and the police proved worthy of the traditions of bloody Imperialist repression.

A reign of terror followed which is still raging. The Legislative Council was abolished. The Constitution was suspended. The Governor rules by the "extraordinary powers" bestowed upon him. For three years the people have been in darkness, without any official declaration as to the constitution, the budget, the council, or the taxation.

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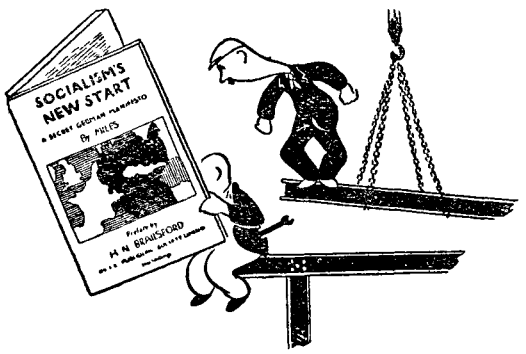
The Communist Party was declared illegal. Many of its members were flung into prison or interned in small villages. Over 200 Cypriot revolutionaries (a relatively greater number than the imprisoned anti-fascists of Germany) are rottting in medieval jails for their revolutionary activities. A few weeks ago, ten Communist leaders were sentenced to an aggregate of 20 years and five months hard labour in Nicosia, and another 16 sentenced in Limassol. But in spite of this, the Communist Party of Cyprus is rapidly winning over the workers and peasants for the proletarian revolution.

The ignominous collapse of the Nationalist Party (Union with Greece) after the insurrection of 1931, freed the masses from the influence of poisonous ideology, and there is now a manifest leftward movement amongst them, expressed in the willingness to fight against Imperialist terror. The Communist Party has sustained heavy blows and is torn by the iron claws of monstrous ordinances. Nevertheless, it carries on its work undaunted ! The more Cyprus comes to the foreground as a strategic point of great importance to Britain, the more the terror becomes intensified. But in this terror the Communist fighters are steeled and are organising and fighting for the overthrow, along with the other colonial peoples, of the Imperialist rule of capital and the establishment of free Socialist States.



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MARX AND ENGELS ON THE BRITISH WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT—VII

1879—1895

I GET the *Nationalist* regularly, but unfortunately there is not much in it. It is just a rehash of the Fabians of this country. They are as flat and shallow as the Dismal Swamp but pride themselves on the splendid generosity with which they, the cultured bourgeois condescend to emancipate the workers. In return the latter are expected to hold their tongues and obediently carry out the orders of the cultured cranks and their "isms." Well, let them have their fun, it will be short lived, and one fine day the movement will wipe it all away. We continentals, who have been quite differently affected by the influence of the French revolution, have certainly the advantage that such things are not possible with us.

I send you the *People's Press* as well. In giving reports on the new Trade Unions it has taken the place of the *Labour Elector*. As you have probably seen, the latter no longer contains any facts, because the workers simply will not have anything more to do with it, though that does not prevent Burns, Mann and others (especially among the dockers) from keeping up the connection with Champion on the sly and allowing him to influence them. The *People's Press* is edited by a very young Fabian of the name of Dell; the second in command is the parson, Morris, both are considered to be quite decent fellows and do their best to oblige the gas workers. Tussy leads the gasmen (under cover) and this union certainly seems to be by far the best. The dockers are spoilt by the assistance of the respectable citizen and do not want to get on the wrong side of the bourgeois lot. In addition, Tillett, their secretary, is a mortal enemy of the gasmen, to whose secretaryship he had unsuccessfully aspired. Dockers and gasmen really belong together, a lot of them are dockers in summer and gasmen in winter. For this reason the latter proposed an agreement whereby members of one of these two unions should not be compelled to join the other when changing work. Up to now the dockers have refused and demand that a gas worker turning docker in the spring should pay entrance fee and membership dues in their union as well. Hence much unpleasantness. In general, the dockers will stand a hell of a lot from their Executive. The gas workers

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and general labourers take on all unskilled men, and in Ireland the agricultural labourers are crowding in, hence annoyance of Davitt, who does not go beyond Henry George and sees his Irish local policy threatened thereby, though for no reason whatever. Here in London, south of the Thames, the gasmen have been thoroughly beaten by the South Metropolitan Gas Co.; that was quite good, they were getting too cock-a-hoop and thought they could get away with anything. The same happened to them in Manchester so now they are quieting down, first strengthening their organisation and filling up their coffers. In the union, Tussy represents the women and girls of Silvertown (India Rubber etc. Works), whose strike she led. She will probably shortly take her seat on the London Trades Council.

In a country like this, with an old political and labour movement, there is always a tremendous heap of traditional rubbish that must be gradually eliminated. There are the prejudices of the skilled unions—engineers, bricklayers, carpenters and joiners, type compositors, etc., which must all be broken through; the jealousies of the different crafts, which in the hands and heads of the leaders develop into direct enmity and clandestine struggle; there are the intersecting ambitions and intrigues of the leaders—this one wants to get into Parliament, so does the other fellow, another wants to get on to the County Council or School Board, yet another to bring about a general concentration of all workers; the next man wants to get a paper going; another fellow a club, etc., etc.; in short, there is friction upon friction, and amongst it all the Socialist League, looking down on everything that is not immediately revolutionary (*i.e.*, here in England as in your country: everything that does not limit itself to mouthing phrases and doing nothing else) and the Federation which still behaves as if there were only asses and bunglers outside it, although it is only through the new drive in the movement that they have again managed to get some following. In short, anyone who only looks at the surface might say that it is all confusion and personal squabbling. But the movement goes on under the surface, spreads to ever-widening circles, mostly among the lowest masses which up to now were stagnating, and the time is approaching when this mass is suddenly going to find itself, and discover that it is this colossal moving mass and then all this meanness and squabbling will have short shrift.—(*Engels to Sorge,* April 19, 1890).

If next Sunday a giant demonstration for the eight-hour day is brought about here in London, it is only Tussy and Aveling we will have to thank for it. Tussy is delegate for her Silvertown women on the Council of the Gas Workers' and General Labourers' Union, and so popular on this Council that she has no other name but "our mother."

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The gasmen—the best of the new unions—were very much in favour of the eight-hour demonstration, as they had not only won the eight-hour day for themselves by a fight, but had also learnt in practice how uncertain such a gain is, which can be taken back again by the capitalists at the first opportunity ; for them, as for the miners, the chief object is to make it legally binding.

Thus, the gas workers and the Bloomsbury Socialist Society (the best section, comprising Lessner, Tussy and Aveling, which left the Socialist League two years ago) started the matter and got good support among the small trade unions and the radical clubs, which are more and more differentiating into Socialist working men's clubs and bourgeois-Gladstonian ones. With perfect straightforwardness they invited the London Council to take part in the demonstration planned in Hyde Park. The Council, consisting mainly of representatives of the old skilled trade unions (next year we shall have conquered it, too) saw that the issue was no longer to be evaded and tried to gain control of it by a coup d'état.

It got into touch with the Social Democratic Federation (Hyndman) and engaged Hyde Park at the Commissioner of Works' Office for May 4, what the others had not yet done. All the larger meetings to be held in the Park must be previously communicated to the C. of W., and he then fixes the number of platforms to be set up, etc. There is a ruling that no two meetings may take place at the same time on the same day, so these gentlemen thought that they were masters now and having sole possession of the Park, they could dictate to the original committee. They had arranged for seven platforms and given over two of them to the S.D. Federation, thinking that they had thus even observed a pretence of impartiality with regard to the Socialists, and a Socialist ally into the bargain.

They then decided that only trades societies were to march in the parade with flags and put up speakers, but no political bodies (*i.e.*, they excluded the clubs). They edited the resolution, struck out the legal eight-hours day, and spoke only of eight hours to be won by trade union action. They arranged for the parade, the routes, etc., and only after that called a delegate meeting—of trades societies only. When this meeting took place : (1) Tussy was not admitted because she was not herself working in the shop she represented (and Mr. Shipton, President of the Trades Council, who has not moved a finger in his trade for the last fifteen or sixteen years ! !) (2) An amendment demanding that the legal eight hours' day be again put into the resolution was not even put to the vote or debate—the matter being already decided! (3) The delegates were given to understand clearly that the Trades Council was the man in possession, the Park belonged to it on May 4, and if they did not like it they could leave it alone.

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Great anger and dismay among the delegates of the original committee. But the next day the tables were turned. Aveling went to the Commissioner of Works and declared that there would be trouble if the original committee was not also granted a number of platforms at the same time; fortunately it was the Tories who were in power (the Liberals would have lied their way through and granted nothing), and they cannot afford to make more enemies among the workers. So Aveling got seven platforms agreed, and now it was the turn of the gentlemen of the Trades Council to sing small, for a conflict at this point would have shown all the more clearly how weak they are. Our committee now went ahead energetically, arranged plans and routes in detail, and published them immediately, thus coming in first; Aveling and Shipton met yesterday and discussed everything, so that no collisions can take place, and the meeting on Sunday will thus be one of the largest ever seen . . . .

This is our first great victory in London, and proves that here, as elsewhere, we now have the backing of the masses. Of the S.D. Federation, which has two platforms of its own, four strong branches are marching with us and are represented on our committee. The same is the case with many skilled trades—the old traditional leaders go with Shipton, and the Trades Council and the masses with us. The whole East End goes with us. The masses here are not Socialists yet, but they are on the way to it and have already reached a point where they will have only Socialists as leaders and no others. The Trades Council is the only workers' organisation worth mentioning which continues to be anti-Socialist, but even there a Socialist minority is already in being, and as soon as the gas workers get on to it—they, up to now, have been kept out by all kinds of tricks—things will move quickly. I am convinced that after May 4 the movement here will take on quite a different aspect, and you will then hear more of Tussy publicly. We have shown the sectarians of the Trades Council and S.D. Federation that we are quite equal to their tricks and dodges and, much as they hate us, they cannot go against the facts. At last the English proletariat seems to be coming into the movement in its masses, and if that is the case, in a year's time all these petty sectarians, tricksters and climbers will either be relegated to their modest place or be swept away . . .—(*Engels to Sorge,* April 30, 1890).

. . . The May Day Festival of the proletariat was epoch-making, not only because the celebration was a general one, which made it the first international *deed* of the militant working class, but because it also served to confirm the highly satisfactory progress that has been made in individual countries. Friend and foe alike agree that the worthiest

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and the most brilliant celebration of the festival of the proletariat on the whole continent was held in Austria, and in Austria in Vienna. . . .

. . . But on May 4, London put Vienna in the shade. And I consider this the grandest and most important part of the whole May Day Festival, that on May 4, 1890 the *English proletariat,* newly awakened from its 40 years' winter sleep, *again entered the movement of its class.* . . .

[In order to understand this, adds Engels, the previous history must be realised, and he gives an account of the new movement among the unskilled workers in London. The gas workers had won the eight-hour day in the previous autumn, and then lost it in South London after their unsuccessful strike. In North London it was insecure.—ED., *Labour Monthly.*]

. . . No wonder, then, that they readily fell in with the proposal of Mrs. Aveling, that the May Day celebrations for the legal eight-hour day, decided upon by the Paris Congress, should be introduced in London. . . .

[After describing the formation of the Central Committee, the decision to hold a Hyde Park demonstration and the invitation to the London Trades Council ("where for the time being the anti-Socialist element is still in the majority") Engels continues : ED., *Labour Monthly.*]

. . . The Trades Council saw that the movement for the eight-hour day was threatening to grow beyond them. The old trade unions are also for an eight-hour day, but not for one established by law. What they mean by the eight-hour day is one in which the normal day's wage —so much an hour—is paid for eight hours' work, and then that any amount of overtime should be allowed, provided that every hour of overtime is paid at a higher rate, say, at as much as one and a half or two ordinary hours. The point was, therefore, to divert the demonstration into the channels of this agitation for a working day gained by "free" agreement, but, above all, not made compulsory by Act of Parliament. For this purpose the Trades Council united with the Social Democratic Federation of . . . Mr. Hyndman, a society which poses as the one and only English Socialist Church holding the keys of salvation, which has quite logically formed a life and death alliance with the French Possibilists . . . and which from the outset, therefore, regarded the May Day Festival decided upon by the Marxist Congress as a sin against the Holy Ghost. The movement was growing beyond it also, but to join the Central Committee would be to submit to the leadership of the "Marxists." If, however, the Trades Council took the thing in hand, and if the celebrations were being held on the 4th of

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May instead of the 1st of May,[1] then it would no longer be the wicked "Marxist" May Day celebrations at all, and one could take part in it. So although the S.D.F. has already got the legal eight-hour day in its programme, it joyfully accepted the hand proffered it by the Trades Council.

[Engels further describes the attempt of the Trades Council to keep the Park for themselves, its failure, and then the demonstration itself.—ED., *Labour Monthly*.]

. . . Round the seven platforms of the Central Committee dense, innumerable crowds, advancing with music and banners—over a hundred thousand in the procession—increased by almost the same number who had come individually; everywhere unanimity and enthusiasm and yet order and organisation as well. Round the platforms of the united reactionaries, on the other hand, everything seemed flat; their procession, far weaker than the other, badly organised, disorderly, and for the most part late . . . [four branches of the S.D.F. broke away and went with the Central Committee.—ED., *Labour Monthly*] . . . Despite all this the Trades Council still had a success due to the respect it commands, but the overwhelming success lay with the Central Committee.

The general impression, however, which the numerous bourgeois politicians who were present as spectators have taken home with them is the conviction that the English proletariat, which has now been providing the great Liberal Party with its tail and its herd of voters for over 40 years, has at last awakened to new and independent life and action. And of that there can be no doubt. On May 4, 1890, the English working class joined up in the great international army. And that is an epoch-making fact. The English proletariat is based on the most advanced industrial development, and also possesses the greatest political freedom of movement. Its long winter sleep—resulting from the collapse of the Chartist movement of 1836 to 1850 on the one hand, and the colossal growth of industry in 1848 to 1880 on the other—is broken at last. The grandchildren of the old Chartists are entering the line of battle. (From "The 4th of May in London." By Friedrich Engels, Vienna *Arbeiterzeitung*, May 23, 1890.)[2]

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[1] In another part of the article Engels explains: "As it became clear that this year" (the first any celebration had been held) "any attempt to hold a demonstration on Thursday, May 1, would be bound to fail, it was decided to postpone it to Sunday, May 4."

[2] Previous articles in this series are to be found in the September, October, and November issues of 1933, and in the February, March, and April issues of this year. Copies of all these numbers can be obtained from the LABOUR MONTHLY, 7 John Street, London, W.C.1, at the price of 6d. each (7d. post free).

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BOOK REVIEWS

BRITISH FASCISM.

B.U.F. Oswald Mosley and British Fascism. By James Drennan. (John Murray.) 7s. 6d. net.

NINE years ago the *Labour Monthly,* in its issue of July, 1925, had occasion to give warning of the embryonic menace of "British Fascism." At that time the principal danger was the prevalent attitude of the Labour Movement, both "Right" and "Left," to regard the possibility of Fascism in Britain as only a subject for laughter—"comic opera organisation," "blue-blooded exuberance," "Boy Scout mentality," "playing at revolution," etc., as the language of the *Daily Herald* and other Labour organs then ran. Against this attitude it was at that time necessary to point out that there was a serious basis for Fascism in Britain, and that, despite the awkwardness and antics of the early attempts, the working-class movement would do well to treat the signs with perfect seriousness from the start and prepare its organised measures accordingly.

To-day this stage has long been passed. The Labour Party, after assisting the growth of Fascist economic and political tendencies in its governmental policy and suppression of the militant workers, has even begotten from its midst a modern Fascist movement under the leadership of a former Labour Government Minister. The talk of Fascism is universal, and no longer so merry, after its advance and victory in Central Europe and the demonstration of its ugly rôle. The danger in the ranks of the reformist-led Labour Movement has rather become the alternative danger of exaggerating the invincibility of Fascism and beginning to stare at its growth with the fascination of a hypnotised rabbit staring into the eyes of the snake that will devour it, instead of getting active to take the necessary measures to deal with this latest technique of modern capitalism in its last stages.

The early attempts at Fascist movements in Britain were overweighted with retired Brigadier-Generals and Rear-Admirals and the general entourage of the Duke of Northumberland and the *Morning Post.* They ingenuously proclaimed in public their aim to be "counter-revolutionary." They understood nothing of the social-demagogic technique of Fascism, and the necessity to put on an appearance of a "popular" movement. In consequence, despite their police connections and assistance, they won no hold or political influence.

Modern Fascism in Britain had to develop out of Labourism. Through the stages of the Mosley Group in the Labour Party, comprising seventeen Labour M.P.s, and of the New Party, developed the British Union of Fascists in 1932. This may not be the final form, but represents a more advanced stage for two reasons. First, its Labour origins have given it a certain degree of experience in social-demagogic technique, on which it endeavours to concentrate. Second, it has considerable financial backing from wealthy sources, as well as the support of the publicity machine of the millionaire Rothermere Press.

It is of this organisation, whose exploits in emulation of the bands of Hitler and Mussolini have already become notorious in Britain, that this book is an official exposition, issued by the old-established publishing firm of John

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Murray, which has already given publicity to Fascist views through the pages of the High Tory *Quarterly Review*. Here the hooligan, terrorist aims of decaying capitalism are set out in polite, learned "philosophical" terms to delude the fools among the intelligentsia.

Who is its author? Its author purports to be "James Drennan." "James Drennan," however, is evidently a pseudonym for W. E. D. Allen, the former Conservative M.P. for West Belfast during 1929-31. This conclusion appears inevitable, since whole sections and passages in the book are word for word identical with an article on "The Fascist Idea in Britain," by W. E. D. Allen, appearing in the *Quarterly Review* for October, 1933. We may therefore from this point ignore the thin mask of the would-be classless Fascist popular champion, "Drennan," and deal with the reality, the upper bourgeois Conservative company director, Allen, educated at Eton, former special correspondent of the *Morning Post,* of the Bucks Club, Bachelors' Club, and Royal Ulster Yacht Club. This West End clubman of Ulster and *Morning Post* origins is the suitable official exponent of British Fascism, "the Modern Movement."

The argument of this book is more marked by purple passages, reminiscent of a younger Disraeli, than by any serious or coherent content. Long tirades on "the bourgeois mind" and "bourgeois democracy," plagiarised from the dregs of a distorted Marxism, long excerpts from Scanlon's very shallow "Decline and Fall of the Labour Party," still longer excerpts from the bombastic pseudo-philosophic balderdash of a Spengler, comprise the great part of its contents. Mosley is duly presented from the first page in the language of a cinema star: "A great glamour . . . gallant, rather arrogant air . . . a big man of blood and bone, of strong tones, no feeble creature of grey shadings . . . a personality" (p. 14). Hitler and Mussolini are "Cæsar-men . . . out of the earth," "the needle-points of a vast corporate surge of great millions of Cæsar-men who emerge to make out of the formless life of the modern world the massive structure of a modern Cæsarism which is the Fascist revolution" (pp. 199-200). "There is a blood-urge, a spiritual passion, a mighty mystical import in the movement of the modern Faustian man" (p. 201). And plenty more where that came from, to make the groundlings gape, and impart a showman's air of profound wisdom.

This inflated, spiritual, mystical language is no accident. It is the traditional language of all reactionary movements to hide their real character. The mystical and openly non-rational character of Fascist ideology and propaganda is only the inevitable expression of its class-rôle to maintain the domination of a doomed and decaying class. This type of "ideal" "spiritual" language is the familiar language of all scoundrels, rogues, war-profiteers, gangsters, Kreugers, Al Capones, Morgans, MacDonalds, Mussolinis, Hitlers, Romanoffs and all who live by preying on their fellow human beings and cannot face a plain, rational, materialist examination of their rôle and of the organisation of society.

And indeed the author proudly rejects "theory" and exalts "feeling."

> Fascism has no long pedigree of theory, like Socialism, Liberalism, Communism, and other products of the intellectual laboratory. Fascism is real insurrection—an insurrection of *feeling*—a mutiny of *men* against the conditions of the modern world (p. 212).

However, there remains in fact a "theory" of every movement, even though it is not expressed. When the aim of that movement is in reality

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the terrorist dictatorship of finance-capital, it is natural that it should not be wished to express that aim too clearly. Accordingly, the programme to which this "insurrection of feeling" is to be directed is presented in suitably vague terms :

> The Fascist is concerned with the problem of power, and he aims at the achievement of power through action. When he has secured power, he applies further action to the realities of the moment, as they exist in that moment when he has the responsibility of exercising power over the State (p. 213).

This kind of "programme," which out-MacDonalds MacDonald in unsurpassable woolliness, is admirably suited to cover the practical and very unidealistic aims of finance-capital from being too clearly expressed to the dupes who have to carry it out in an intoxicated "insurrection of feeling."

The central thought of this book—if it is not an insult to the author to accuse him of "thought"—is simple in the extreme. This representative of the bourgeoisie is acutely conscious that British Capitalism is in decay. The panic fear of decline and decay breathes through every line of his book. He quotes Mosley :

> What I fear much more than a sudden crisis is a long, slow crumbling through the years until we sink to the level of a Spain, a gradual paralysis beneath which all the vigour and energy of this country will succumb.

The pessimist outpourings of Spengler, the journalist-smatterer, pseudo-philosopher, product of German Imperialism driving on to the rocks, whose *Decline of the West* appeared in 1918, dominate the book, as they dominate all Fascist literature. Spengler is the prophet of the inevitable decline and collapse of "Western" civilisation. His conclusions are so openly pessimistic that the Fascists have officially to deny them ; but they remain under his spell. "Drennan"-Allen writes :

> Spengler's interpretation of world history is a colossal monument to the European mind . . . His interpretation of past history remains valid, and constitutes a base from which modern man may begin to interpret his own present and to modify his own future (pp. 176-7).

What is the teaching of this "colossal" prophet? Spengler writes :

> Only dreamers believe that there is a way out. Optimism is cowardice. We are born into this time and must bravely follow the path to the destined end. There is no other way. Our duty is to hold on to the last position, without hope, without rescue . . . The honourable end is the one thing that cannot be taken from a man.

With this may be compared Mussolini's "Above all, we have no belief in happiness," and "Fascism denies the materialist conception of happiness as a possibility." "Hopeless we may be," declares the *Blackshirt* (September 16-22, 1933). "Yet we have the hope of doomed men." *The overpowering consciousness of decline and decay, the recklessness of despair of a doomed class—this is the heart of the ideology of Fascism.* Against this, Communism, with its unconquerable optimism, with its certainty of victory, with its belief in the possibility of universal happiness, is the ideology of the rising class, of the working class.

There is no attempt on the part of this Tory Diehard run wild to analyse scientifically the real meaning of this decline of which he is conscious, and track its roots in the mode of production and class-relations. Such an analysis would lead inevitably to Communist conclusions ; and therefore this bourgeois with true instinct fears and denounces all reason and theory as the devil. His only hope is that this decline may somehow be arrested by a superhuman effort of will, by an "insurrection of feeling." He appeals to the younger bourgeoisie :

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> Fascism appeals alike to those elements among the younger-minded middle-class who are conservative by temperament and strongly nationalist in spirit, and to those rarer and more dynamic individuals who, naturally revolutionary in their outlook, have been disappointed and exasperated by the failure of all leadership from the Left, to approach any fulfilment of their aspirations (p. 22).

The appeal is to "the younger-minded middle class" and to "dynamic individuals"; for him the majority of the nation, the workers, the real power, do not exist.

Fascism, he declares, is "a mutiny against destiny" (p. 200), "a conscious revolt against the machine" (p. 199). Here he speaks truer than he knows, and by this proclaims the doom of Fascism; for Fascism is the last desperate attempt of the dying bourgeoisie to defeat their "destiny," to defeat and arrest the onward march of the productive forces, of "the machine," which, from being the idol of the bourgeoisie, has now become their nightmare and the emblem of the future victory of Communism.

With aching heart he looks longingly for a return to "the conditions of the twelfth century" (p. 42). He dreams of a reign of "blood" and "violence" to wipe out the hated forces of progress.

> "The powers of the blood, unbroken bodily forces, resume their ancient lordship." The airman, type of the modern warrior of the Faustian world, stalks with cynical laughter over the ruins of the Reichstag (p. 198).
>
> Out of the night of history old shadows are appearing . . . The figure of the Leader . . . comes out into the stark day—in the grim serenity of Mussolini, in the harsh force of Hitler. And behind them stride the eternal condottieri—the gallant, vivid Balbo, the ruthless Goering. (pp. 42-3).

With this appropriate celebration of the "eternal condottieri," with this exultant glorification by the super-civilised West End clubman of the bandit Balbo and the gorilla Goering, we may take our leave of this typical product of bourgeois decay, who longs to see his sinking order saved in a sea of blood of the proletariat. He believes that with all this celebration of blood and violence he is expressing something fresh, "vivid," "dynamic"—to use his favourite words. He does not realise that just this blood-lust, this worship of violence, is the supreme expression of bourgeois decadence and decay.

The reader will find no value in this book for any real statement or explanation of Fascism. The true rôle of Fascism, as the organ of finance-capital, is concealed under a single comically reluctant reference to the "unwilling support of harassed capitalists" (p. 212). The usual myths of the fictitious Fascist "conquest of power" are presented. In Italy "opposition crumbled . . . the elaborate façade of the bourgeois democratic State has collapsed" (p. 217)—with no hint that the State and army authorities directly organised the growth of Fascism (on October 20th, 1920, the Minister of War issued a General Staff order to all Divisional Commanders to support and assist the Fascist organisations), and then put it in power without even a pretence of a conflict. In Germany "the Nazis . . . were ultimately placed in power as the result of a General Election" (p. 248)—with no hint that the Nazis were heavily sinking in the last election before they were placed in power, and lost two million votes, and were then hastily, because they were in danger of sinking, placed in power by Hindenburg, who had been elected President by a majority vote of the population, as the supposed "champion" against Hitler. But it would be useless to look for any accurate knowledge of facts whatever in this author. The only value of this book is as a photographic self-exposure of the mind of the bourgeoisie in decay, as it turns to Fascism. R.P.D.

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THE PLAINT OF A SOCIAL FASCIST.

Austrian Democracy Under Fire. By Otto Bauer. (Labour Publications Department.) 6d.

MR. OTTO BAUER, the most accomplished traitor to Marxism in the field of theory and practice, is rounding off his career of service to the Austrian and European bourgeoisie by bewailing in these confessions of his the deep ingratitude of his bourgeois masters in preferring the now open Fascist Dollfuss régime to the played out Social Democratic leaders, whose services are insufficient to meet the desperate needs of the bourgeoisie in the present period of a fast approaching new round of war and revolution. True to character this slimy gentleman, facing both ways, both praises and condemns the Austrian workers. Even the title of his self-revealing brochure is a deception, Austrian "democracy" was not under fire. Austrian democracy, being a bourgeois one, had fulfilled its deceptive rôle with the loyal support of Bauer and Co. from 1918 onwards. On Bauer's own confession the position of the Austrian working class was pitiable. Not "Austrian democracy" but the Austrian working class were under the fire of the regular and auxiliary troops of Austrian Fascism, the more open and ruthless armed dictatorship which had for months been prepared under the nose and with the acquiescence of Bauer and Co.

This shameless scribbler now seeks to capitalise the heroic defensive fight of the Austrian workers on behalf of the Social Democratic Party, which "again and again seized every opportunity of warning bourgeois politicians, and through them the Government, of the growth of revolutionary feeling among the workers, and of the increasing danger that some incident might lead—even *against the will of the Party*—to a violent outbreak of the pent up wrath against the dictatorship." In short, they behaved as His Majesty's Privy Councillors in Britain are oath-bound to behave in reporting to their boss on the mood of those who might conceivably endanger bourgeois rule. Note that "against the will of the Party." It reveals so clearly the nature of this degraded Social Democracy which considers the armed insurrection of the working class against capitalist oppression to be degenerate. The very words of Bauer being: "We knew that the dictatorship would try to break any strike by force, and that therefore a general strike *would necessarily degenerate within a few hours into an armed struggle.*" It is not to be wondered at that with such a conception in the mind of their leaders that the call for the general strike was neither directly given or completely responded to.

Truly there is no plumbable depth to which Bauer and Co. would not sink in their betrayal of their followers, as witness: "We let Dollfuss know that we would be prepared to grant extraordinary powers to the Government, in a constitutional manner for two years," etc, "We declared that we would be prepared even to make concessions to the notion of a 'corporative' organisation of society and the state in order to make an understanding possible. It was all impossible—Dollfuss refused to enter into any negotiations." So that Bauer and Co. were ready to be Fascist in everything but name. But the bourgeoisie had already chosen the wielders of the Fascist bludgeon. Bauer will get his chance to make (as Severing and Loebe, his Second International collaborators, have now done) his obeisance to established Fascism.

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This is a nauseating piece of writing which smells foully in every paragraph. Not even the most indignant of his opponents could have written such an indictment of Bauer as arises from these evil-smelling pages.

The heroic fight of the Schutzbund and the working men and women, youths and maidens waged as it was in the face of and despite the theory and teachings of Bauer and Co. will live as a glorious page of proletarian history. Their skill, sacrifice and undying courage must not be prostituted to the whitewashing or redwashing of such poltroons as Bauer and Co., who boast to their Second International world that they also were in the fight. To be a guest or visitor in these few heroic days cannot atone for the years of callous treachery to the truths of Marxism and the development of the revolutionary struggle.

Bauer is already preparing to disorganise the further struggle of the Austrian workers by trying to lull them into the belief that Fascism will fall of itself, that if it doesn't it will lead to war and war will lead to revolution, and then : " Our opportunities will come, and what we have to do is to take care that we are ready to seize them."

What a brazen-faced scoundrel who dares speak in such a way—after the self-revelation of this pamphlet shows that every opportunity to serve the bourgeoisie at the expense of the working class had been distorted by Bauer to make the worse appear the better part. On his own confession Bauer, who now praises the heroic resort of the Austrian workers to armed self-defence, was willing on terms to disarm even that portion of the workers who possessed weapons. Within his fifty pages Otto Bauer finds space to slander the working class, castigate his fellow Social Democrats of Germany and, of course, dart a poisoned fang at the Communist.

He prophesies that " The great Austrian School of Socialism will continue to exist." Thus speaks the school master, but the fires of Linz, Steyr and Vienna have taught the workers of Austria, and through them the International proletariat, the truth of Marx's dictum : that " Insurrection is an art " beyond the understanding of Bauer and Co.—except, indeed, in the betrayal of it. Bauer is writing that the Austrian workers may go Nazi, but his real fear is their development to Communism.

R. S.

METAL FATIGUE OR—SABOTAGE ?

Driving Axle. By V. Ilyenkov. (Martin Lawrence). 455 pp. 5s.

THINGS were going badly at the great Krasny Proletary Locomotive Works. The Plan was unfulfilled, quality was down, numerous breakages and increased wastage. Relations between the management and the workers grew worse. Here was a hold-up in one of the most important sectors of Socialist reconstruction. To make matters worse an accident through the breaking of a driving-axle on one of the Krasny-built engines had focussed the attention of the whole Union on the bad situation in the plant through biting criticism in the *Pravda.* The Krasny workers were endangering the revolution affecting the lives of 160 millions. " Did we fight through October and the intervention for this ? " At the public enquiry the break in the axle was clear for all to see but the reason was not. A case of " metal fatigue," the technicians explained—quite a common thing with metals, but rather too technical a matter for the ordinary workers to understand. They were unanimous—but for Platov, Red Technician, and the

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majority of the workers. However scientific "metal fatigue" might be, an accident involving the loss of four lives, the honour of the works, the welfare of the revolution, must have an explanation understandable by all. Besides, wasn't this linked up with the general decline in the plant? What is the position of Platov as the only Red Technician in the works, opposing the theory of the old and experienced pre-revolution technicians? He felt the full weight of responsibility was his. Had not the Government sent him to Germany, spending hundreds of roubles to train him for defence of the revolution and advance of reconstruction? The Party looked to him; 160 millions watched him; across the whole world the news would be flashed: "Krasny Proletary Locomotive Works a failure. Soviet setback. Unable to master industrial technique." The capitalist foreign Press would sneer. Yes, he Platov, must be responsible.

Once these problems had passed beyond the borders of the quiet offices of the technicians, once they had been taken up in the works, a hundred discussions flowed from the open Hearth furnace to the assembly shops and back again. Not only Platov had decided it was his responsibility to root the matter out—hundreds of workers came to the same conclusion with unquenchable enthusiasm. This class-conscious determination of Platov and the workers brought to light many startling facts about the Krasny works, and was the means of lifting it out of the mire of disgrace and inefficiency, transforming it from the blot on the map of reconstruction to the red spot of Soviet technical advance, supplying the giant steel horses to roar over the iron roads of Socialist Russia.

Driving Axle breathes the spirit of working-class triumph; shows how the workers can rule, casting out anti-social elements in the process. It constitutes a thrilling Socialist novel in the best sense, forged out of the stuff of Socialist life in the struggle for Communism.

A. J. W.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

The Wheatsheaf Holiday Guide. 1934. (Co-operative Publishing Society.) 496 pp. 3d.

The Eyes of the Movies. Harry Alan Potamkin. International Pamphlets. 31 pp. 6d.

Hawaii. S. Weinman. International Pamphlets. 31 pp. 6d.

The Aircraft Ramp. The Story of the *Daily Mail* Campaign for a bigger Air Force. (Union of Democratic Control.) 8 pp.

The U.S.S.R. and the Far East: A review of the Far East Situation. (Union of Democratic Control.) 31 pp. 6d.

The Jingoes Chorus. A Summary of the speeches in the campaign for bigger fighting forces. (Union of Democratic Control.) 14 pp. 3d.

Hitler Over Europe? Ernst Henri. (J. M. Dent.) 307 pp. 5/-.

What Marx Really Meant. G. D. H. Cole. (Gollancz.) 320 pp. 5/-.

An Atlas of Current Affairs. J. F. Horrabin. (Gollancz.) 168 pp. 3/6.

Property or Peace? H. N. Brailsford. (Gollancz.) 327 pp. 5/-.

Proudhon. D. W. Brogan. (Hamish Hamilton, Makers of the New World Series.) 94 pp. 1/6.

Socialism's New Start. (A secret German Manifesto). Miles. (N.C.L.C.) 144 pp. 2/-, paper cover. As above (Allen & Unwin), Cloth 3/6.

The Red Army. (With pictures.) (Workers' Bookshop, Ltd.) 14 pp. 1d.

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